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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE ROLE OF A CHANGE AGENT AS A FACTOR IN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT IN A RESERVE COMMUNITY

by

© CAROL LUANNE WATT

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Role of the Change Agent as a Factor in Resource Development in a Reserve Community", submitted by Carol Luanne Watt in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Supervisor

Date June 29, 1973.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a community study of the Stony Plain Reserve, its natural and man-made resources, and its human resources, the people of the Enoch Band. The research was carried out by participant observation and informal interviews, from May to September 1972.

There were five objectives which provided a framework for the study.

1. To gain an understanding of the Stony Plain Reserve community.
2. To gain an understanding of the effect which the present Band Administrator has had on the resource development on the Stony Plain Reserve.
3. To identify the change agent roles which he uses.
4. To see if band members have become dependent on the Administrator.
5. To determine whether or not the people of the Enoch Band are gaining autonomy in making decisions and in managing their own affairs.

General Findings

The Stony Plain Reserve has been adjusting to rapid change since the discovery of a vast resource of oil and natural gas in the early 1950's. Isolation of the band from non-native society has decreased greatly; band children have been attending Edmonton Separate and Public Schools since 1954. All band members receive regular oil royalty payments, and the Chief and Council have been working on different projects involving band funds, such as the artifical ice arena, the administration building, and the band farm and ranch operation.

The chief and councillors hired an Administrator on a two year contract to help develop their skills of administration and band financing. It was found that some types of resource development were actively encouraged by the Administrator (functionalization of Council, potential for commerical recreation), some had not been noticeably affected by him (agriculture, housing) and some had been already in process and had been moderately encouraged by him (farm management course, building of the arena).

It was found that the Administrator has a wide range of "change agent roles" which he is competent in using, and that he knows the appropriate time and place for each. He can act as expert or as encourager; at times he simply passes on information; at all times he encourages participation of band members in the handling of their own affairs.

It was not possible during the time allowed for the study to establish or to disprove the presence of band member dependency on the administrator. But it is inferred from the findings for the final objective (that the band members are gaining in autonomy) that they are also increasing in independence.

Several examples illustrate that the people of the Enoch Band are gaining autonomy in making decisions and in managing their own affairs (the present format of the Council meetings, the division of labour among the office staff, and the community's reaction to the

attempt by Indian Affairs to reduce the kindergarten program to half days.

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This thesis is dedicated especially to Cliff Sim, and to all others who work for the development of mankind beyond prejudice and discrimination, to understanding and equal opportunity.

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Chapter I

THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

Aboriginal peoples throughout the world are coming to terms with the colonial "civilizing" influence. They are reacting in different ways and the manner of adaptation varies with the unique situation. Writers from a wide variety of fields have considered this problem, for example Redfield (1953), Vallee (1967), Lockwood (1962), Mountford and Roberts (1969) and Horowitz (1967). In Canada the signing of the treaties and the establishment of the reserve system and the Department of Indian Affairs were the governmental efforts to accommodate the people of native ancestry (Morris, 1880, Hawthorn, 1966, 1967 and Rogers, 1971). The criticism of these actions has become increasingly noticeable in the last few years (Cardinal, 1969, Waubageshig, 1970 and Robertson, 1970). Disagreement between government and native people over control of certain programs and policies is illustrated by the dispute at Saddle Lake over the administration of the Blue Quills Residential School (The Native People, August, 1970, p.1). Other examples include the controversy over the federal government's White Paper and the reaction to it by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta (1970) and the marches on the Alberta legislature in 1965 by members of the Hay Lake Band (Robertson, 1970, The Edmonton Journal, February 23, 1965, p.1) and in 1966 by members of the Bigstone Band of Wabasca (The Edmonton Journal, July 27, 1966, p.1).

There appears to be a general motivation among the people towards a new autonomy in handling their own affairs.

This thesis focuses on a community of native people who are passing through a transitional period, who are becoming each year more competent in making the decisions which affect their lives and in working out solutions to their own problems. This study, based on an analysis of the resources and other dynamics of the community, examines the various factors promoting and prohibiting community resource development on the reserve. The influence of the Band Administrator emerges as a key and positive factor in the development. He is identified as an effective community change agent, and the roles which he uses are assumed to be of value to communities desiring resource development on all levels, and to professionals interested in inducing planned change in the community.

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS

The central problem of concern for this thesis is: What does a change agent contribute toward resource development in a reserve community?

The change agent in the context of this study is "any agent used by a client system to help bring about improved performances" (Bennis et al: 1969:157). This general definition appears to be more applicable to the Band Administrator than are some of the more specialized ones. For instance, the Biddles (1965:81) say that a change agent is an encourager. Saram (1970:29) states that a change agent is a "professional person who attempts through interpersonal influence to effect planned change in a client system of which he is not a member." Saram also

speaks of the participant change agent, who takes part in the change going on and from this gains identity within the group. Other change agents include community organizers and social animators, both of which encompass a range of alternative approaches. The Band Administrator appears to utilize elements of all of these, but is not limited to one only. Therefore, Bennis' general definition, that a change agent is "any agent used by a client system to help bring about improved performances" most closely fits the context of this study.

Connor's conception of development has been adopted. He says (1966:10) that development is a "special type of growth and thus of change, in which there is not only a quantitative, but also a qualitative and positive difference in the object over time, occurring usually through a process and possessing both purpose and direction." Niederfrank and Jahns (1966:52) refer to resources as "factors of economic and social production and utility" and isolate three types. Natural resources are agricultural lands, forests, lakes, minerals, geological formation and the flora and fauna associated naturally with them. Human resources "consist of the attitudes, aspirations, health, mental abilities, leadership skills, knowledge and other attributes of human beings". Man-made, institutional, technological and cultural resources consist of "facilities, services and programs of all kinds." Resource development is a blanket term referring to development of any of these kinds of resources.

Section 91 of the British North America Act, quoted in Hawthorn (1966:213) contains the legally accepted definition of reserve: "land reserved, upon any terms or conditions, for Indian occupation, ranging

in size from a few acres to five hundred square miles."

The definition of community chosen for this study was written by Paul Furfey (1953:346).

> . . . A community may be defined as a geographically delimited unit within the larger society, small enough to permit a considerable degree of cultural homogenity and a considerable amount of face-to-face interaction among its members, yet large enough to contain all the major social institutions necessary for normal life.

Much confusion appears to exist about the meaning of "community". Dennis Poplin (1972:1) states that sociologists use the word in three ways: as a synonym, when the word is associated with prisons, religious organizations, minority groups and similar groups; as a moral or spiritual phenomenon, as in the "quest for unity and involvement with other human beings"; and as "units of social and territorial organization which dot the face of the earth", widely ranging in area. Poplin's clarification is useful for it shows what some authors attempt to imply in a single definition, for instance Kingsley Davis (1949:312) and Desmond Connor (1969:6). Furfey's also contains elements of the three foci identified by Poplin, but they are not in conflict, and the interrelationships are stated. Therefore, Furfey's definition has been selected to give some guidelines to the concept of community for this study.

The Stony Plain Reserve is located three miles west of Edmonton, Alberta, in Township 52, Range 26, west of the fourth meridian. Its borders measure five miles by four miles and its area is a rectangle of twenty square miles. One of the eight reserves in the Edmonton-Hobbema District in the Alberta Region under the administration of the Indian Affairs Branch, it is officially known as The Stony Plain Indian Reserve Number 135. The people of the reserve are of Plains Cree extraction

and together make up the Enoch Band. The north-eastern portion of the reserve borders the hamlet of Winterburn, and this name is a common way of referring to the reserve.

Several other problems were considered relevant to the central one of understanding the change agent's contribution toward resource development in the reserve community. Firstly, it was necessary to look at the various resources which exist on the reserve. Secondly, the approaches to and the progress in the development of these resources were examined. Thirdly, an evaluation of the ways in which the change agent's contribution was viewed by band members was attempted. In the course of the study, these and other issues were assessed, in the light of the following framework.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To gain an understanding of the Stony Plain Reserve community.
2. To gain an understanding of the effect which the present Band Administrator has had on the resource development on the Stony Plain Reserve.
3. To identify the change agent roles which he uses.
4. To see if band members have become dependent on the Administrator.
5. To determine whether or not the people of the Enoch Band are gaining autonomy in making decisions and in managing their own affairs.

The quest for these objectives should increase understanding of the dynamics of reserve and community resource development. It may shed light on the manner of transition of a group of native people, away from dependence on the Department of Indian Affairs toward a steadily increasing local autonomy in decision-making. For those interested in

various aspects of the planning and bringing about of change on the community level, more detailed knowledge may be acquired about the different roles of the change agent and their appropriate use; there is great need for such knowledge.

METHODOLOGY

In approaching the problem of discovering the contribution of a change agent towards resource development on the Stony Plain Reserve community, the first objective is to gain an understanding of the total community. Furfey (1953:347) defines the community study as "the systematic gathering of enough information about a particular community to give the investigator insight into the life of the community as a whole". The literature on community studies has been summarized by Poplin (1972) and Vidich et al (1964). These studies can be grouped into three areas of focus. The ethnographic studies, originated by cultural anthropologists and more recently developed by some sociologists, are illustrated by the work of the Lynds on Middletown, Redfield in the Yucatan and William F. Whyte on the street corners of a Bostum slum. A second group of community studies, such as Warner's work on class in American society, and Vidich and Bensman's research on the effects of rapid industrialization on a small town, has dealt with social stratificiation. A third group has studied race relations, a key example being Dollard's study of caste and class in a southern community.

Vidich et al (1964:xi) suggest that a major reason for the survival of the community study is "precisely because it has not absorbed too completely the major techniques of the more 'advanced' social sciences." A basic operating assumption of social research, that

the aim of the particular study is to be matched with the research technique or techniques best suited to the context of the study, has been emphasized by several writers; for example, Furfey (1953), Selltiz et al (1959) and Denzin (1970). It has been recognized by these men, as well as by Jacobs (1970) and by Poplin (1972), that the purpose of the community study and its major technique participant observation is to provide, in the words of Arthur Vidich, "coherent images of the community and social life which are unattainable by other methodologies" (Vidich et al: 1964:xi). Vidich states further that

> . . . sociologists of all methodological persuasions as well as laymen have come to rely on the community study as a source for their over-all images of society. They use these studies for building their substantive theories of society, and they use them as reference points in doing other research and for their commentaries on the society at large. This dependence has led to a remarkable success for the community research which goes far beyond what might be expected in relation to the number and cost of the studies of communities available to us.

Participant observation is the technique suited to community studies requiring in-depth information (Poplin:1972 and Jacobs:1970). Madge (1967:216-217) states that the method was named by Lindeman in 1924 but that the actual practice began earlier.

> . . . The practice of participant observation was not new. Leplay had lodged with European workers in the mid-nineteenth century, Malinowsky had moved in with Trobriand Islanders, Anderson had experienced hobohemia from within. Each had realized that he had to become part of the community to understand it fully, and Whyte was realizing the same conclusion in Cornerville.

In the second edition of his "Street Corner Society", Whyte (1955:279-358) offers a detailed account of the actual process of his research, emphasizing the need to be aware of the roles demanded of the participant observer. Gold (1958) states that these roles can be viewed on a

continuum of involvement with the community. Thus they range from complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant, to complete observer. This idea he attributes to Buford Junker. Gold (1958:220) points to the second role, participant-as-observer as the one most used in community studies "where an observer develops relationships with an informant through time, and where he is apt to spend more time and energy participating than observing". Field workers and informants are both aware that theirs is a field relationship. Gold continues (1958:221)

> . . . In general, the demands of pretense in this role. . . are continuing and great for here the field worker is often defined by informants as more of a colleague than he feels capable of being. He tries to pretend that he is as much of a colleague as they seem to think he is, while searching to discover how to make the pretense appear natural and convincing. When pretense becomes too challenging, the participant-as-observer leaves the field to re-clarify his self conceptions and his role relationships.

During the early stages in the community, the researcher is apt to be regarded with some suspicion, and any information gathered will be superficial. As trust deepens and the relationship ripens so that valid and in-depth data may be acquired, the emerging friendship threatens the field roles. The danger exists that the informant will become too much of an observer, and that the field worker may over-identify with the informant and lose his research perspective by going "native". Yet the maintenance of this delicate balance of roles is important if the research is to yield significant data.

The merits and limitations of participant observation are outlined by Selltiz et al (1959) and Denzin (1970). Dean (1954:225) states that the major characteristic of the methodology can be seen as a

strength and as a weakness. Non-standardization in field work provides data that is difficult to quantify. But at the same time, it allows the re-direction of the inquiry along lines more important to the aims of the study, as they become evident. Unpatterned field work also "makes as effective as possible use of the relationships the researcher establishes": it recognizes that individuals vary in the type of information they can provide, and capitalizes on this uniqueness of resource people rather than looking for the typical or average informant.

Examination of the data of this study reveals a marked increase in the depth of personal communication from May to September (for examples see Appendix II). This trend reflects my learning in observational and recording techniques, but more importantly it shows the ripening of field relationships mentioned by Whyte (1955) and Gold (1958). Frequently I experienced conflict resulting from trying to be a friend and participant in the community while aiming also at detached and "objective" research.

When I approached the Administrator in March about the possibility of working there to obtain data for this thesis, he mentioned various ways I might be able to serve the community, mainly in the capacity of a Service-Corps-type worker, assisting with the recreation for the children of the band. Early in May I went to the kindergarten teacher and asked if I could be of assistance to her. She gave me some small duties and provided me with a more definite reason for being there. I could relax and begin to assess the community from a more secure psychological standpoint because I was able to offer something in return for the information I needed. The teacher and the janitor together introduced me to the

patterns of family and kinship structure and to the history and present dynamics in the community. When kindergarten finished I was able to move to the office feeling somewhat at ease. There I attended council meetings, got to know the office staff and was able to make conversation with different parents of kindergarten children. In this way my circle of acquaintance grew. During the summer I provided a small recreation program for the school children in the village, and thus became familiar with village families. During September, after the children were back in school, I briefly interviewed a sample of those I knew. (Writers dealing with the principal uses of personal interviews include Hsin Pao Yang (1955), Selltiz et al (1959) and Denzin (1970).)

Informal interviews in the form of ordinary conversation enriched and rounded the observations I was able to make. The interview schedule, designed to obtain band members' opinions about the development and about their Administrator was actually a minor part of the research. (It appears in Appendix I.) Approximately ten questions were asked and the time required seldom exceeded fifteen minutes. The key questions were asked part way through the interview, hopefully obtaining band members' opinions about the development and the Administrator. The remaining questions, while useful, were designed to distract attention from the central ones, in an effort to minimize any rumours which could have circulated afterwards. The actual schedule was begun and concluded with ordinary conversation, seeking permission to ask a few questions, asking about family members and expressing thanks.

Ten percent of the adults, aged twenty to sixty, made up the projected sample. A breakdown of the age and sex distribution and the resultant sample size in each category follows.

Table 1

Age and Sex Distribution, and Selected Sample of Members of the Band

Age Group	Men	(Sample)	Women	(Sample)
Over 71	2		5	
61-70	7	(1)	2	
51-60	9	(1)	8	(1)
41-50	14	(2)	9	(1)
31-40	31	(3)	17	(2)
21-30	38	(4)	40	(4)
11-20	53		73	
1-10	72		69	

Source: Official Band Membership List, November 1972

After selecting the one in ten proportion of sample to band population, I went through the most recent band membership list, dividing males and females into groups according to their year of birth. Thus the total number, for example of women in their twenties, was isolated (forty). Ten percent of forty is four: therefore I selected the names of four women in this category who knew me well enough that I felt I could ask them for their ideas. They were generally the mothers of children with whom I had been working. In this way, the whole sample was drawn up.

This method of sampling has an obvious disadvantage. Because of my association there with the office staff, Chief and Council and some

of the village residents, I knew very few of the rural residents; I had little opportunity to approach older people especially the women and knew only a few of the many teenagers. Thus my sample was biased toward the formal leadership and power structure (those whom I met at the office) with few representatives from other segments of the community.

I felt that this type of sample was the only alternative in view of the information I needed. I assumed that people who knew me would be more likely to tell me some of their real thoughts about the development, the community and the Administrator, than almost total strangers would, especially in the cross-culture context. Simply, I placed higher priority on deeper and more valid responses from a few to whom I was known, than on superficial and to a degree invalid responses from a cross-section of the community residents.

Because of the relatively minor nature of the interview, I did not carry out a formal pre-test. Rather, during a single trial with a key informant, I asked for critical feedback. She thought they were good questions, not too personal or hard to understand. She seemed to catch the intent of each question or if she did not, I was able to rephrase it satisfactorily.

Brief notes on observations made and information obtained were made as soon as the opportunity to do so in private became available; notes were not taken until after each interview. On only a few occasions did I use pencil and paper in public. The notes were expanded and duplicate copies prepared as soon as possible. One set

of notes was kept in chronological order, the other was filed into categories including: community--general, external and history; education; family structure and kinship; leadership, power and government; relations with Indian Affairs; medicine; norms; Enoch Park; progress observation; people; recreation; religion; sources of revenue; the change agent. Eventually, the notes were de-personalized and reorganized. General statements were made concerning the data, and individual examples of personal communication or observations were offered as supportive evidence of the statements.

LIMITATIONS

The main limitation of the community study is the lack of comparable data which it produces. The community study provides in-depth, qualitative information about a unique environment. Findings and conclusions from one study cannot be applied to other communities without undertaking an entire study of them. Participant observation, the technique often used in community studies, has a high risk of selective perception, and carries few checks for reliability or validity of observation or interpretation of data. That is, it is difficult to determine if similar conclusions would be drawn by another researcher in the same community or by the same researcher in another community.

A related weakness of participant observation has already been discussed; namely, the difficulty in balancing the inherent conflict in the roles of participant and observer. The risk of informant bias, when the informant tells the interviewer what he thinks the interviewer wants to hear, is another difficulty with participant observation.

Again, the informant himself may not be an actual member of the community but may appear as such to the researcher. Such an individual's responses have value in themselves but gross error could result from inferring that they are representative of the community.

Errors in observation and interpretation of data for this particular study could stem from the time, role and experience limitations of the researcher. More complete data might have been acquired by my living in the community rather than commuting from the city each day. A male researcher could probably have obtained more complete and accurate information from the males there than I was able to; I felt rather restricted in this regard as I had no wish to antagonize some of the female population, and many reports indicated that this was easily and innocently done. Extending the period of field work to at least six months would also have improved the data collection and hence the findings and the whole study. The first three months were spent in "gaining a toehold" in the community, building confidence and improving observational skills, and did not yield as rich data as did the final month. Another limitation of this particular study relates to the lack of comparison with another reserve community (one of the problems with many community studies). A comparison would have helped to counteract the biases resulting from having one individual focus on a single community, but lack of time and money prevented my doing similar research in at least one other community. Attempts at comparison were made by asking informants about other reserves, but this at best provided a partial glimpse of a complex subject.

The risk of breaking confidence with the people of the community made some of the personal communication which I recorded unusable. But if band members read this thesis they may define as too personal some of the examples which I have considered broad enough to include. Such a case would also be a betrayal of confidence, and could make entry into the community very difficult for another researcher. The graduate student who preceded me at Enoch eventually married a member of the band, which appears to indicate his degree of acceptance and a reason for the predisposition of the people to be open with me.

OTHER FACTORS INFLUENCING RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

There are other factors besides the Administrator, which have affected the resource development on the Stony Plain Reserve. It is the purpose here to recognize but not to elaborate upon these factors. Rather, each has been eliminated from consideration in this analysis as the single cause of resource development at Enoch, by the following rationale.

The possibility that the increasing autonomy of the band members is part of a general and natural progression from previous relationships with the Indian Affairs Branch is ruled out as the single cause of development because if this were the case, then all bands across Canada should be experiencing similar development, and they are not (Hawthorn:1966:65-101; personal communication, Enoch Band Administrator, August 1972).

The influence of the present chief and council on the develop-

ment must be recognized (Personal communication, Indian Affairs official, June 1972). But it is pointed out that the vegetable project (for example) originated seven years ago: a different chief and council promoted and encouraged this (Banta:1966). Also, the present local government authority is not without its problems. An example is the limited formal education possessed by these men, which seems to handicap their self-concepts at times, and puts them at a disadvantage in some situations, such as in dealing with a consultant firm. Also, the widespread community belief that the band funds are unlimited and can be dispensed freely often confronts the Council: their attempts to follow a budget force them to limit access to band funds, which action is not popular with some of the people (Observations, May-October, 1972).

The discovery of oil at Enoch cannot be viewed as the sole cause of development there, since other reserves have oil and this has not contributed to progress paralleling that at Enoch. (For instance, a native of another band, now married into this one, stated that on her home reserve "they have oil too but the chief and councillors keep most of it [the money] for themselves. Here every person gets a share"). (Personal communication, 15 September 1972).

Hawthorn (1966:107-108) states that "there is little, if any, correlation between the comparative economic development of bands and their relative proximity to urban centres of various types and sizes. . . " Thus the geographic location of the Stony Plain Reserve, so close to a large urban centre, has not been the only cause of

development there, if in fact it has been a factor in the development.

FORMAT OF THE THESIS

Chapter Two provides the theoretical framework for the research and consists of a review of the literature relevant to the planning of change on a community level and the roles of the change agent. Chapter Three begins with an account of the Plains Cree and a discussion of different approaches to socio-economic development on reserves. It concludes with a review of previous research on the Enoch Band and other background information on the particular history and resources of the Stony Plain Reserve. Chapter Four contains the community analysis and Chapter Five focuses on the influence of the change agent in the community. Chapter Six includes a summary of the findings of the research in the light of its objectives and concludes with recommendations and directions for future research.

Chapter II

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

> . . . We are beyond debating the inevitability of change; most students of our society agree that the one major invariant is the tendency toward movement, growth, development, process: change. The contemporary debate has swung from change versus no change to the methods employed in controlling and directing forces of change. . . . The predicament we confront . . . concerns method; methods that maximize freedom and limit as little as possible the potentialities of growth, methods that will realize man's dignity as well as bring into fruition desirable social goals. (Bennis et al:1969:2).

The authors of this quotation go on to identify two schools of thought about change, that which occurs without plan or conscious intervention from man, and that which does not. The natural-law and "invisible hand" ideology of the laissez-faire doctrine produced the "law of non-intervention", the idea that change did and should take place without meddling from human hands. Karl Marx's ideas were a direct reaction to established attitudes of laissez-faire, but Marxian theory has not been able to keep pace with the accelerating changes of the world, and it too, now suffers from obsolescence, claim Bennis and others. To these writers, planned change has emerged as the only alternative. Planned change is "a method which self-consciously and experimentally employs social technology to help solve the problems of men and societies" (Bennis et al:1969:2). Other individuals who are active in both the

theory and practice of planned change are Biddle and Biddle (1965), Ross (1967), Harp and Hofley (1971) and Draper (1971).

THEORIES OF PLANNED CHANGE

Richard Walton (1969:337-345) states that social science has identified two distinct bodies of change strategy, those based on attitude and behavioural change, and those involving power manipulation. There is a vast wealth of literature which focuses on power manipulation as a method of bringing about positive community change. For instance, a well-known advocate of the field is Saul Alinsky (1971), who often works to emphasize the differences between two opposing factions, polarizing the situation and usually increasing the power of the "underdog". Walton's conclusion (1969:345) is that the two bodies of change strategy are not mutually exclusive, but are both useful, and can be applied as complements if the situation requires. However, strategies of attitude and behavioural change receive main consideration in this study, since they form the basis of the thought and action of this particular change agent. (That is, during the field work period the change agent appeared to be trying to effect changes in attitudes and behaviour. Although it could be argued that this type of action would eventually increase the community's power base, no instances were observed in which the change agent was directly manipulating power.) In the following section, examples of approaches to the planning of change at the community level with attitude and behavioural change emphasized, will be reviewed.

Community Development

There is little agreement on the exact nature of community development (see du Sautoy:1962, Biddle and Biddle:1965, R.A. Sim:1971 and Hynam:1968). Du Sautoy (1962:121) cites the official United Nations definition. Community development involves

> . . . the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.

Ahmed (1962) has pointed out that the term is used in several ways: as process, method, programme and movement. Hynam (1968) states that community development as process should be distinguished from but always associated with community development as program or "human resource development" programs. Francis Bregha (1970:5) has observed of this field that

> . . . its main thrust and principal raison d'être as a method of intervention is to transform the causes and conditions shaping the quality of life in a society so that as few people as possible in it would depend on any kind of service.

To these writers and others (Dunham:1970) the key elements of the concept are: the total needs of the community, self-help (people involved with the decisions affecting their own lives), an external agency offering technical assistance when required, and an integration of specialist services.

Compton (1971:395) speaks of several social action models which can be used in community development. He mentions models of conflict and/or of conflict-reconciliation, of information-communication, of

adult education, of economic development and of manpower development. These models are ideally chosen, singly or in combination according to the unique situation. In all, the dominant theme is "people-power". Says Compton, "people achieve power through education (enlightenment), organization, resources and leadership."

Community Organization

The difference between community development and community organization is not always clear, but there is substantial literature reinforcing the latter as a distinct and complex field. Murray Ross (1967:40) states that community organization is the

> . . . process by which a community identifies its needs or objectives, orders or ranks these needs or objectives, finds the resources (internal and/or external) to deal with these needs or objectives, takes action in respect to them, and in so doing extends and develops cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community.

Ross also offers some principles (1967:157-202) which include widespread community discontent, indigenous leadership and effective communication and organization around the problem.

Harper and Dunham (1959:54) trace four major ideas emerging from the definitions of community organization which they have studied, all of which belong in the attitude and behaviour change school.

> . . . First, the idea of co-operation, collaboration and integration. (Devine, Steiner, McMillen, King, Ross. . . .) Second, the idea of meeting needs, and . . . of bringing about a balance between needs and resources. (Pettit, Lane, Mayo, Dunham, McNeil, Ross) Third, the idea that community organization deals with "program relationships" as contrasted with the "direct service" of casework and group work. (Kurtz) Fourth, the broad philosophical concept of community organization as furnishing a working relationship between the democratic process and specialism. (Lindeman)

Social Animation

This is another field which is not easy to define and which is sometimes confused with other related strategies of planned change. 'Animation sociale' was used successfully on a large scale in the social and economic rebuilding of France after the Second World War (Report of Social Animation Institute:1968) and as a distinct method of intervention in ARDA regional economic development projects in rural Quebec (Montminy:1968, Morency:1968). About the same time, the Conseil des Oeuvres de Montreal (Blondin:1968) was sponsoring the approach. In the Gaspé the focus was on involving the people with the planning; in Montreal the specific aim was to combat the prevalent social disorganization and feelings of anomie and powerlessness among the people of certain areas (Blondin:1968). The Conseil D'Orientation Economique du Quebec (1968:36) states that social animation is a means to insure, in the context of social and economic development planning, an optimum participation of citizens. The Conseil argues that the existing confusion reflects the crucial need in several fields, such as social organization and adult education for the basic components, participation and communication. At any rate, social animation stands clearly in the attitude and behavioural change style of planned change.

AGENTS OF PLANNED CHANGE

The roles open to change agents vary according to the particular social action model (Compton:1971:395), the personality, the community and its special problems and the stage of the agent's presence in the community. Connor (1966:7) states that the four roles of the community

development worker are observer, diagnostician, strategist and stimulator. Ross (1967:203) refers to the role as "a whole which should guide all that the professional worker does . . . (and it follows that) . . . the worker's function in any situation will be clear." To Ross the primary goal of the worker is as guide. Other roles, of enabler, expert and therapist, complement the role of guide. Saram (1970) points to an essential element: the difference between the change agent who remains detached, and the one who participates in the changes in the group and becomes subject to normative controls from this group as well as to those of his employing agency. The participant change agent is more easily accepted in the client system, is less apt to encounter resistance to change and is more likely to influence the adoption of change, says Saram. In the eyes of the client system, the participant change agent is a blend of three role compositions, which fact helps to explain his more marked success. He is an expert (inducing change), he is a group member (voluntarily participating in change) and he is a leader (exemplifying change).

Roles of the social animator have been outlined by Blondin (1968). As agent of rationalization, the animator helps a group to clarify its thinking and organize its energy (primarily through the problem-solving techniques or force-field analysis). A second role, the agent of socialization, points to the needs to foster common in-group cohesion and loyalty. An animator in Blondin's analysis must also be a channel of information, guiding the group to outside sources when necessary. The role of instigator of participation is the dominant one, and uses all

available strategies, according to the situation.

J.R. Kidd (1971:148) points to the lack of precise agreement about the role of the animateur, but identifies definite elements of his work.

1. He stimulates people to think about, and develop the will to take part in their own personal development and community improvement.
2. He supplies information about methods and helps develop skills of community education and community action.
3. He assists people to discover and develop qualities of leadership in themselves and in each other.
4. He helps people assess and develop standards of value and judgement about their own growth and about community change.

The parallel between these various approaches and roles lies primarily in their basic objectives. The advocates of each talk of motivating people toward genuine involvement in the matters which concern them, and of setting the democratic process in action, of bringing decision-making power to the people, often through group process work. Differences between community organization, community development and social animation are difficult to pin-point because of their lack of precise definition and because of a certain self-centredness which exists in the literature. For example, a social animator (Report of Social Animation Institute:1968:12) commented that "community development has more limited objectives than social animation in which the total process is towards a participatory democracy". Some specialists take a narrow view when they consider other fields.

To illustrate the distinctions between these approaches, and between their various roles, it seems necessary to point to individuals

and instances which represent particular unique qualities in each approach. But, because of the overriding similarity in goals and in techniques, these examples can be argued as being representative of other approaches as well. For instance, Saram (1970:43) states that the "community development agent does not decide or direct any specific changes that he thinks are desirable"; he is primarily a catalyst and encourager. But the literature on the social animator states that he sometimes claims to be valueless, reflecting and working toward the goals of the group or community, completely effacing his own should they differ. Surely this demonstrates a basic quality in both approaches which is closely parallel, if not identical. All three approaches use the formal group problem solving process, but it does appear that social animation literature stresses it much more consistently than does community development or community organization literature. Saul Alinsky is a unique community organizer: his tactics using power-base manipulation and his record of successes put him in a category by himself. Yet community developers who use Compton's (1971) social action models of conflict and/or of conflict-reconciliation resemble Alinsky not a little. Murray Ross's definition of community organization identifies the community as its own change agent, that is, as taking the active part in identifying its needs and finding the resources to meet them. Community development and social animation both specify the need for a special individual who acts as encourager or agent in facilitating this process of community change. While the field of community organization does have this type of

individual, it does appear from Ross's definition that the process may or may not require him.

It should be obvious by this point that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to pin-point differences between these theories of community change. The difficulty is directly related to the over-lapping or essential sameness of the theories, in basic goals and in strategies.

In summary, three bodies of theory regarding the planning of attitude and behavioural change on the community level have been discussed. Several roles available to the change agent as he attempts to put some of this theory into practice have been explored. The basic element in all of this theory revolves around the encouragement and development of local autonomy and/or citizen participation by an individual who may be a member of the community or group but often is not. The under-lying assumption of this entire thesis is that this local autonomy is highly desirable, functional and attainable, and that people wish to make and have the potential capacity to make the decisions which affect their lives.

Chapter III

BACKGROUND

HISTORY OF THE PLAINS CREE

Mandelbaum (1940) and Lowie (1954) state that the first written mention of the Cree ("Kristineaux" then) occurs in the Jesuit Relations of 1640. At this time they belonged entirely to the culture of the woodland tribes, although the missionaries reported that they were more nomadic than their neighbours, the Ojibwa. Roaming the forests and canoeing the rivers between Hudson Bay and Lake Superior, the Cree became involved with the European fur traders between 1690 and 1740. Originally their area was rich in the furs so desired in Europe, but as the supply dwindled, the Cree travelled ever increasing distances up the prairie rivers after more. They became dependent upon the various goods acquired from the traders, assimilating the material items (pots, beads, axes) very quickly into their culture. They became active "middlemen" in the fur trade. Firearms were very important, for they gave the Cree additional power as they moved onto the Plains. Some bands stayed on the prairies for increasing periods of time; these bands gradually developed a distinct Plains culture. During the time of transition these people blended old and new; for instance, they still used canoes and snowshoes while

they learned how to handle horses and to hunt buffalo. By the early 1800's (Lowie:1954:188), ". . . to all intents and purposes the Plains Cree . . . became thoroughly assimilated Plains people, sharply separated in outlook and customs, though not in speech, from the Eastern Cree."

Mandelbaum (1940:166) states that there were eight major divisions among the Plains Cree in the nineteenth century, each made up of loosely organized bands. It is logical to conclude that the present day Enoch Band is descended from a group which Mandelbaum (1940:167) describes as "the Beaver Hills People" or the "Upstream People". The largest and most northwesterly division of Plains Cree, they

> . . . roamed along the North Saskatchewan to the neighbourhood of Edmonton and south to the Battle River. They bore the brunt of the Blackfoot raids but were also richest in horses. Their present reserves (are) at Edmonton and Saddle Lake. . . .

For accounts of the signing of the treaties and the establishment of reservations, see Morris (1971) and Robertson (1970). To say that the situation on many reserves cries for attention and remedial, creative action would be considered as a gross understatement by many like Cardinal (1969), Robertson (1970), Hawthorn (1966:1967) and Newman (1967).

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ON RESERVES

The Indian Affairs Branch was set up in the nineteenth century by the government in Ottawa to deal with matters pertaining to the native people. The situation on many reserves today bears witness to

the complex nature of the problem and to the inadequacy of the present system of countering it. In the words of James Rock (1962:1955),

> . . . the lack of economic and social advances on the . . . Reservation comparable to the economy and society within which the Reservation and its people must exist have created an underdeveloped region similar to emerging nations elsewhere.

A great deal has been written on the causes, elements and resolution of underdevelopment in the emerging nations, for example see Schramm (1964), Staley (1961), Parmar (1970), Seers (1969) and Galbraith (1964). Although these authors are far from agreement on the matter, they can be divided roughly into three main ideologies of development, economics (Galbraith:1964 and Parmar:1970), technology for man (Fuller:1969) and human rights (Mishan:1967 and Staley:1961). The parallels between the third world and the Canadian reservations have been discussed by Adams (1969) and McNickle (1967); the bureaucratic structure of the Indian Affairs Branch has been criticized by Newman (1967), Yellowbird (1970), Waubageshig (1970), Cardinal (1969) and Robertson (1970). However, it is not the purpose here to elaborate on this field, but rather to examine developmental projects or efforts in planning change which have occurred on reserves in Canada.

The Hawthorn Report indicates that the Indian Affairs Branch has been looking at reserve development in terms of economics (1966) and human resources or education (1967). There is a definite orientation toward increasing autonomy of the bands reflected in this survey, and an awareness of the various factors to be considered in understanding and effecting reserve development (1966:66). These include three

broad categories: economic factors, including ownership of resources and capital, and rates of population growth; socio-economic factors such as educational attainment, mobility and dependence on welfare; and socio-cultural factors like religious affiliation, kinship ties, quality of leadership and organized activities within the band.

In general, economic development has tended to build on the natural resources unique to the reserve, be they soil, energy sources like oil, or capability for livestock production. On some reserves industry has been encouraged to locate, stressing native handicrafts and other goods, and employment of the band members (Blood, Samson, and Slave Lake Bands: The Native People: July, 1972). Further attempts made by the Indian Affairs Branch have included "new programmes in community development, education, vocational training, housing, and other techniques designed to stimulate local self-government (and) improve standards of living . . ." (Chance:1970:6-7).

A PREVIOUS STUDY OF THE ENOCH BAND

An example of Indian Affairs' reserve community development, the Enoch Band's vegetable project was evaluated by Banta (1967). Banta described the unique situation of the band. The discovery of oil in 1950 and the ensuing events had decreased much of the social isolation of "pre-oil" years. The Band had to adjust to rapid change. In spite of the wealth, there was little work on the reserve, and there were in 1963 between 40 and 50 children of the band who were wards of the government (Banta:1966:6). (This statistic is given as an indication

of the extent of the social problems being experienced by the people at this time.) After a series of meetings discussing action alternatives, the idea of a vegetable project was selected, mainly because of the employment and market potential of root vegetables. Banta spent time living and working with the people; his thesis is an economic analysis of the project and an appraisal of the problems which arose. Although the project was not making a profit, Banta argues that many lessons had been learned in the first two years of operation. He says that the important issue was that the band members felt genuinely involved with the project, and had learned that they were capable of growing crops, and of working through some of the problems encountered. Banta points to the marked decrease in the numbers of children who were government wards in the second year of operation: to him this meant that the project was providing employment for some heads of households who had previously been forced to leave the reserve to obtain jobs, with resultant breakdown in their families. He recommends continuation of the project for this and other reasons.

Banta's influence in the community doubtless affected the reception which I received, at least initially. On different occasions when I explained my reasons for being there (aside from the obvious involvement with the kindergarten and the village children), I heard the comment, "Oh, like Gordon Banta." He represented their previous experience with graduate students and with writing a "thesis or little book". If there were negative feelings about him, they were never expressed to me, and I consistently encountered a courteous and

helpful attitude in the people. I therefore am grateful for his prior presence in the community, for it eased the building of my own field relationships.

HISTORY OF THE RESERVE

> . . . Long time ago there used to be that thick moss (peat) all around here. Get a fire started in there, it would burn for years. Used to do it too. That's why it's called Winterburn. And this road used to be full of springs. Even after they had the hard top, they used to have a lot of trouble with it. This country used to be full of swamps, lots of caribou here. You know where that hundred-sixteen street crosses hundred-four avenue? That used to be a big lake in there. A big lake. And the Indians used to have their winter camp south of there, right where the General Hospital is now. One time when my grandfather was a boy them North-West Mounted Police came through, they were camped down by the river. Everybody was scared, run and hid in the bush. But my grandfather and his friend snuck down to where those mounties was camped. Turns out them police were real friendly, give the boys hard tack and other good stuff they never had before. . . . That was in the time of that rebellion. The old chief then, he wouldn't have nothin' to do with that fightin'. My grandfather could remember when they had that old Hudson Bay tradin' fort down on the river bank (Personal communication, male band member of sixty-five, June 26, 1972).

These Cree of Enoch's Band were probably members of the Upstream or Beaver Hills People described by Mandelbaum (1940). They were given land (twice the area of the reserve today) after the negotiations which lead to Treaty Number Six. They were supervised by a succession of resident employees of the Indian Affairs Branch. Reports of early surrender of substantial tracts of land were heard repeatedly during the period of field work. Chiefs long revered seemed to be losing popularity in retrospect, because they had sold for a pittance land which would have been invaluable to the band

today. Agricultural use of the land was encouraged: "Up to the end of World War Two it appears that the agriculture of the reserve was much the same as that of the average farmer in the area" (Banta:1966:14). One informant recalled hauling (by team and wagon) a steer and hog into Edmonton to sell during the Depression: the cash return: nine dollars (Personal communication, male band member of sixty-five, June 29, 1972).

By 1943 the band was active in commerical production of garden products.

> . . . The Winterburn Reserve long has held an enviable place among other western Canadian reserves for the system in which the farms and gardens are operated. All members take part in the plowing, seeding and harvesting operations. . . . Everyone has a share both in the work and the produce (Edmonton Journal, May 19, 1943, p. 9).

Banta (1966:14) found records to indicate that from 1940 to 1965 there was a steady decrease in the number of acres farmed by band members. The practice of leasing land to neighbouring white farmers was common. Banta suggests that this would have been more profitable to a band member than to try to farm the land himself, primarily in view of the formidable amount of red tape involved in acquiring and operating machinery and in selling produce.

Banta speaks of considerable social isolation experienced by Enoch's Band in the earlier years on the reserve. The following excerpt from the Edmonton Journal (April 15, 1938, p. 1) in which a reporter interviewed an old man of the band, illustrates in part the maintenance of traditional ways at the time, and also what was probably a prevalent attitude on the part of the surrounding society.

Both elements indicate a lack of direct contact on any significant scale.

> . . . On reaching the one-room cabin where he lives with a family of six a Journal reporter found M------ lying on his bed beating a tom-tom and singing: "Just an old love chant," he explained. . . . Clinging to the hope that people who remember pioneer days will not forget the part the faithful Indian played in opening the West, M------, friend of the "pale faces" who took all and returned nothing, lives on, dreaming of better and happier hunting grounds.

The attitude of Indian Affairs employees, like the society at large at this time, was essentially care-taking. The native people were given little authority or control over their own affairs. For many years the Treaty Day events were reported in the Journal. (Winterburn at this time was the administrative site for the five reserves west of Edmonton, with a large agency house and barns to accommodate the resident agent.)

> . . . Although in recent years the ceremony has been simplified, the payment of the money still is one of the highlights in the year for the Indians. At one time the annual payments were accompanied by dances and celebrations . . . (July 8, 1943, p. 9)

In the 1938 article the reporter relates that thirty years earlier, the Indian agent had "made" the old man chief of the reserve. Again, an agent is quoted as being "pleased with the war effort of the Indians on 'his' reserve" (June 9, 1943, p. 8). The incident involved the purchase by band members of war savings certificates and stamps, with interest money from the capital accounts of the reserve.

The war can be seen as an important influence in decreasing the social isolation of the native people and beginning changes in the general attitude of the surrounding society. Fourteen men from

Enoch's band joined the armed forces. It was suddenly easier to find employment away from the reserve. One agent said, ". . . the steadily increasing Indian population is only one of the arguments that white people will soon have to get used to the idea of taking Indians into the ordinary way of Canadian life instead of confining them mainly to reserves." (Edmonton Journal, 23 August 1944, p. 9)

On the 8 March 1947 a Journal article appeared (p. 12) describing the new "oil-mindedness" of the Indians in the Edmonton region since the successful drilling at Leduc.

> . . . Indians on five reserves in this area hold oil rights with the possibility of substantial financial returns. . . . While the Indians hold the oil rights they can capitalize on them--if a well is drilled on their reserve--only by surrendering their rights to the federal government which would administer them, turning back revenue to the tribesmen. Decision on whether they will retain their own rights or surrender them to Ottawa is decided by vote, taken on the reserves.
> . . . Indians on the Stony Plain Reserve recently held a vote and decided with only one dissenting vote, to surrender oil rights to the federal government. . . . If Indians on any reserve decide against surrendering their rights, it could prevent an oil company from drilling there.

Three years later the Journal reported that drilling had begun on the Stony Plain Reserve.

> . . . Actually, the Indians probably won't get much of the money in cash. The Indian Affairs department in Ottawa will keep the funds in trust and will use the money to make improvements on the reserve. The Indians expect to be given some of the cash however, and almost every evening they gather in a group around the well after their day's farming is finished. (19 July 1950, p. 17)

It was one week later, on the 26 July 1950, that the drillers struck oil. Enoch's Band was rich overnight.

> . . . By 1951 (when the reserve had fourteen producing oil wells) band members were receiving twelve dollars per person per day. Moreover, as Canadian citizens the band members received Baby bonuses and Old Age and war pension cheques. . . . Band members have quite adequate incomes, all of which except for the $820 treaty money, comes from the sale and lease of natural resources on the reserve (Banta:1966:21).

In 1954 the Chief was quoted in the Journal (6 June, p. 10) as saying that his people "will spend their money on sound development projects and not as foolishly as some of those in the United States."

> . . . Already projected is a gravel ring road to provide a school bus and postal road around the reserve. Under construction are new six-room farmhouses and three room houses for the older members of the band. The houses have full basements with furnaces and are wired for electricity. . . . Last year the band established a farm system which is similar to that of owning one's own land. Each member of the band is given a certificate of occupancy for a quarter section of land. If at the end of four years the land has been maintained to the council's satisfaction, a certificate of possession is issued. . . . Indians who are disabled or otherwise in need of financial support are eligible for band relief payments. These are usually $15.00 per month. Loans can be obtained from the Band at 5% interest if approved by the Council and there is sufficient security (Edmonton Journal, 6 June 1954, p. 8).

A contrast between Banta's observations and those of the Journal reporters is noticeable. Banta draws a somewhat pessimistic picture of complex adjustment problems of rapid social change, and of the decrease in band farming. The newspapermen take a more distant and optimistic view, and do not see or have not been shown the negative aspects involved in the development. I accept both views at face value, in the light of their limitations. Combining the two gives a credible account of the situation, although in the eyes of outsiders. (My field notes contain no mention of this period by the people.) At any rate the

Enoch Band can be seen as having suddenly become wealthy, and as being involved by the mid-fifties in the dilemma of using its money "wisely". There were problems, mistakes, and sound, forward-thinking developments.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Soil Capability for Agriculture

Banta (1967:1-3) gives a soil classification for the Stony Plain Reserve which indicates that, while some of the land in the east-central portion is pasture and wasteland, the remaining area is very good to excellent in agricultural productive capability. He states that the rolling nature of much of the topography tends to decrease the agricultural resource value of an excellent topsoil. The Canada Land Inventory Soil Capability for Agriculture offers a breakdown of the area by capability rating which enlarges and complements Banta's analysis. The CLI states that most of the land falls into the first three classes (meaning that the limitations on agriculture range from none to moderately severe, the latter restricting the range of crops or requiring special conservation practices). The CLI rates in classes 5 or 6 (having very severe limitations and being capable of producing only perennial forage crops) the area east of Yekau Lake, which in Banta's view was pasture and wasteland (marsh, organic soil or sandy loam).

In 1965, 9,000 acres of reserve land was under cultivation, mostly rented to white farmers (Banta:1967:1). In 1972, 34,000 acres were under cultivation, mostly by the Band's farm operation. (The Native People, 26 May 1972, p. 5)

Land Capability for Recreation

The sandy land east of Yekau Lake, poorly suited for cultivation for agriculture, can be viewed as a potential recreational resource. In 1965 a development firm had leased 680 acreas for Tomahawk Park, where such facilities as a swimming pool and a ski hill were established. In addition, the government had 710 acres leased for a rifle range (Banta: 1967:1). By 1972 this land, and more, totalling approximately 2,000 acres and under Band control again, was under study by a consultant firm which had been hired by the band to evaluate the resources there and to make recommendations according to the projected implications of the various development alternatives. A preliminary report of this firm recommended development for commerical recreation and for certain types of country residences, on a sixty-year lease basis. (See the section on "Sources of Revenue" in the following chapter.)

Oil and Gas

The extent of the oil and natural gas resources has already been described. Sale of these resources, and recently the taxation of resident drilling companies by the Band, have together provided the major and substantial sources of revenue since 1950. Council does realize that these resources are non-renewable, and by the summer of 1972 was considering alternative sources of revenue.

Wildlife and Waterfowl

The Canada Land Inventory for Wildlife-Ungulates states that the Stony Plain Reserve land has very slight to slight limitations on the

production of ungulates. (This does not reflect present resident animal populations, but rather the potential for these.) One informant stated that there were "a lot of mule deer in the unbroken land east of Yekau Lake" (Personal communication, male band member of 65, 26 June 1972). The CLI for Wildlife-Waterfowl indicates little or no potential of the Reserve for the production of waterfowl.

MAN-MADE RESOURCES

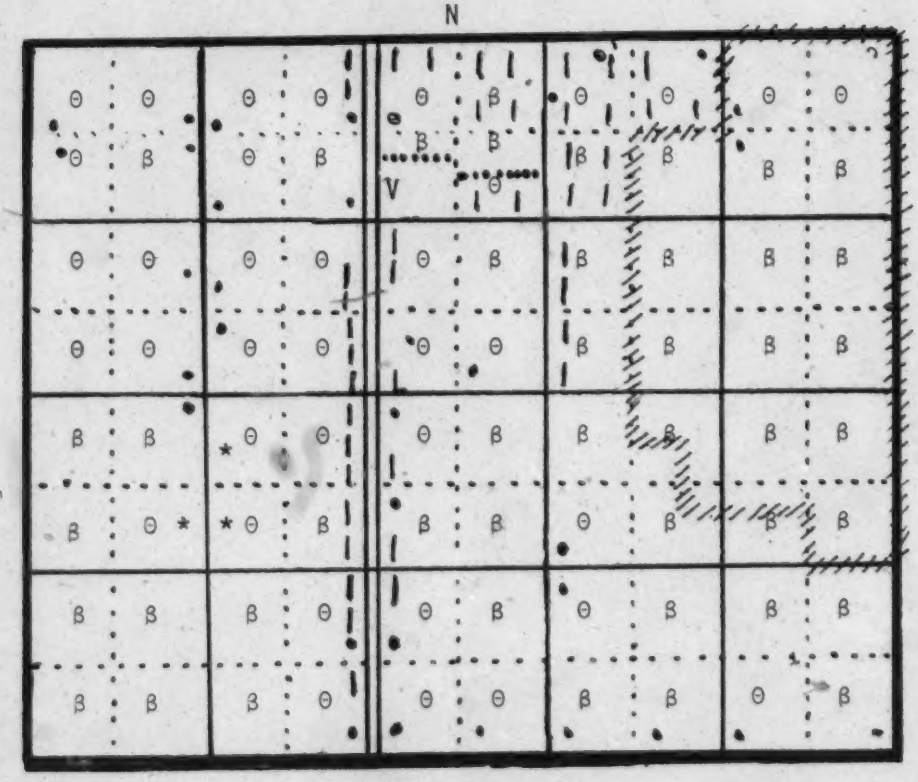
There are sixty houses on the reserve, twenty-two located in the band village ("Newtown") and the rest situated on quarter sections across the twenty square miles of reserve area (see Figure 1). They are still equipped with electricity, running water and sewage facilities, and are owned by the band, although members do acquire title to their own houses by petitioning Council.

The band office, officially opened on the 8 September 1972, was financed jointly by the band, the Department of Manpower and Immigration's Local Initative Program and National Health and Welfare.

> . . . The building is air-conditioned and provides office space for five staff members, council chambers and an office for the chief and councillors, as well as a large waiting room.
> . . . A Public Health Clinic, storage and file room, staff lounge, washrooms and the reserve police office will be housed in the lower floor. Outside parking has been provided for fourteen cars (The Kainai News, 15 September 1972, p. 1).

The old office, completed in 1967 as a Centennial project, stands empty at present (fall 1972). Different plans have been submitted for its use, including a band library and an in-door recreational facility,

Figure 1: Stony Plain Reserve #135 (Enoch Band) -- July, 1972



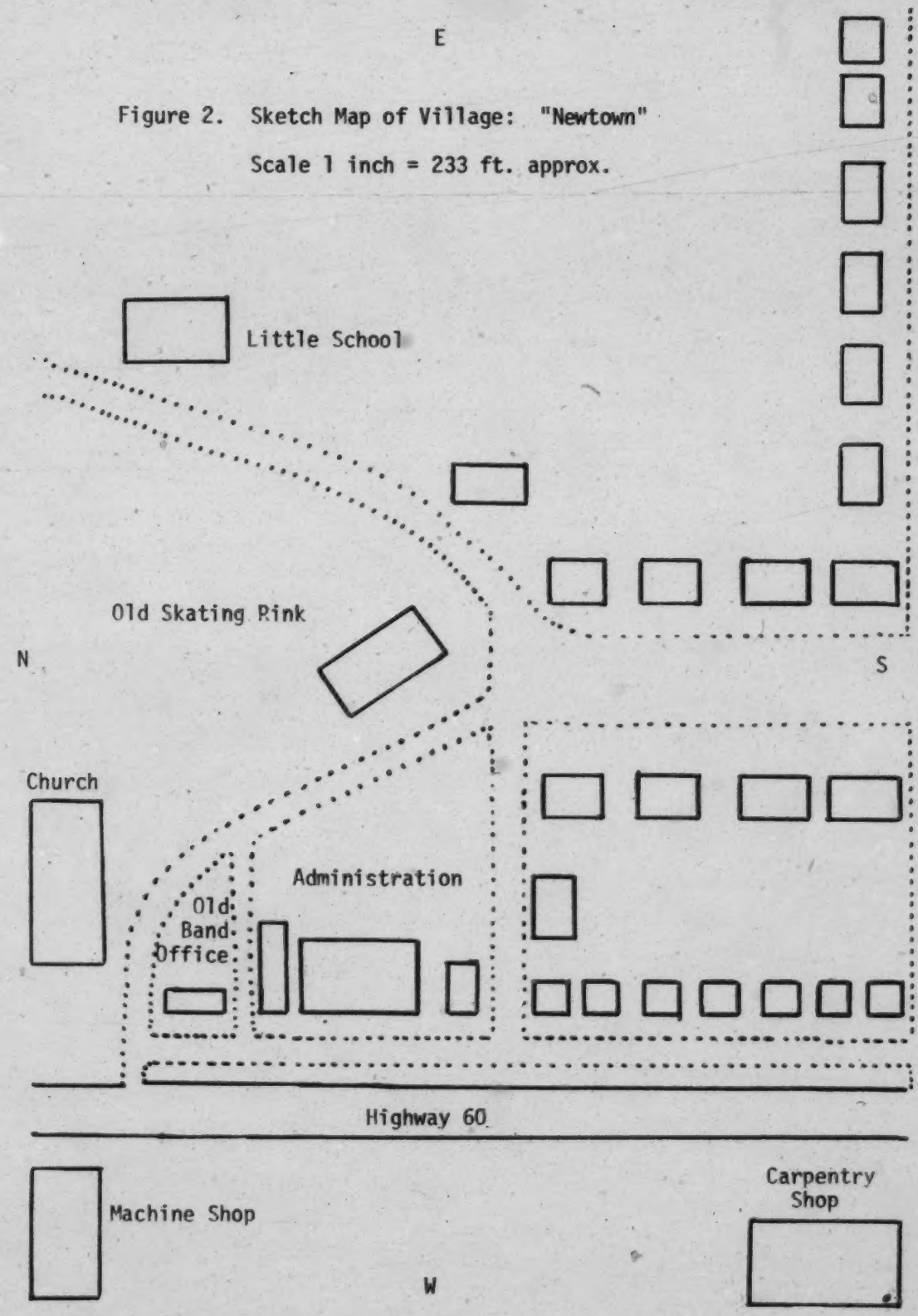
LEGEND

Θ = Certificate of Possession
β = Band Land
• = Location of Household
▮ = Oil and gas wells; and related structures
* = Only band member with more than one quarter section
V = Village
≠≠ = Land selected for development.

Scale: 1 inch = 1 mile

Figure 2. Sketch Map of Village: "Newtown"

Scale 1 inch = 233 ft. approx.



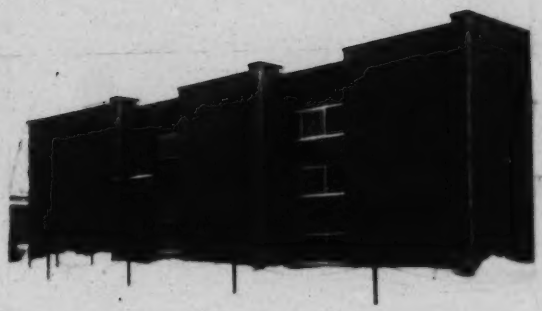


Plate 1. Enoch Band Administration Building

Plate 2. Council Chambers in Administration Building

Plate 3. Artificial Ice Arena

Plate 4. "Little School", Kindergarten and Playschool.

Plate 5. "The Front": Band houses built in 1954, the first in the village.

Plate 6. Newer village houses.

but a final decision has not been reached as yet.

The arena represents over half a million in band funds. It was opened in November of 1971. Sports using the artifical ice are now readily available to band members; outside associations can rent the facility.

The school, built in 1947, at first housed all band students. It is now used for a comprehensive play school kindergarten. Janitor's quarters, once the teacherage, adjoin the school.

There is a large church with a rectory for the priest next to it. A small canteen is located in the basement, the main part of which is used for larger gatherings of band members (wakes, bingos).

The fire-hall was also completed in 1972 and is located south of the new office. The entire area had been landscaped by September of 1972.

The Root House was built to accomodate the vegetable project begun in 1965. Here the work of sorting, storing and preparing for market the vegetables (mainly potatoes) is carried out by six to eighteen band member employees, depending on the season. (Personal communication, male band member of 35, 15 September 1972.)

The Carpentry Shop is the working site for a crew which fluctuates in size according to budget allocation and demand for construction. It is large and set up with modern equipment. There is also a machinery shop where the farm equipment is stored and serviced.

Rodeo grounds and ball diamonds are situated about a half mile south of the band village.

Chapter IV

THE COMMUNITY

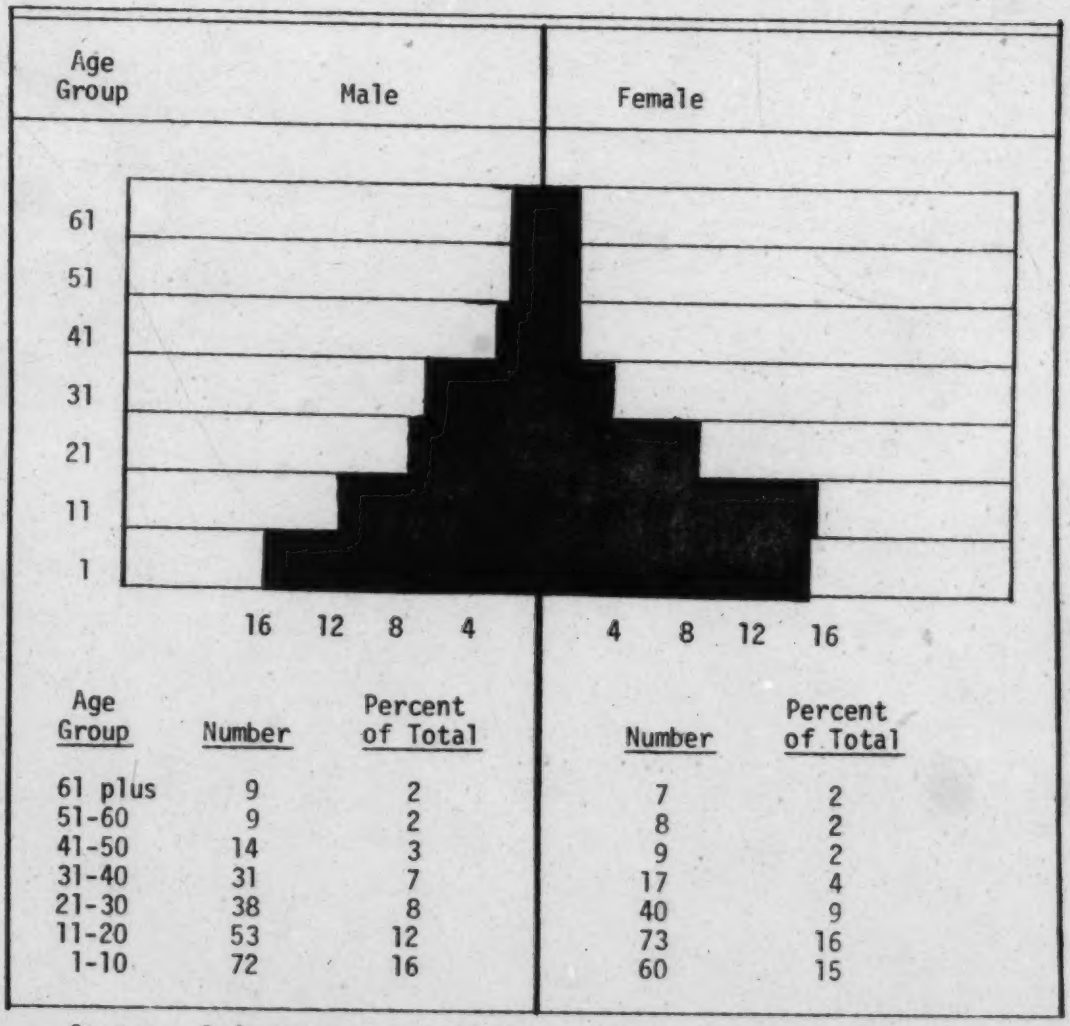
THE PEOPLE - HUMAN RESOURCES

As indicated by Table 2, an outstanding characteristic of the Enoch Band is its rapidly growing population; sixty-one percent of the band members were born after 1952. This trend is supported by band membership figures found from time to time in the Edmonton Journal. In 1943 the band numbered 196 (9 June 1943, p. 8); in 1950, 210 (19 July 1950, p. 17); in 1954, 258 (26 June 1954, p. 10). The growth trend continued until, by early 1972, there were over 500 members on the band lists. Of these, over a quarter are not living on the reserve (132 out of 501--I went over a band list with a key informant for this information). However, there are a number of non-status families with treaty status on other reserves living on the Stony Plain Reserve, so the resident population is over four hundred. There are approximately sixty households, with an average of 6.6 persons per household; in comparison, the 1966 city of Edmonton average household size is 3.5 persons (McVey:1971).

On the official list of band membership which I was given, the distribution of federal welfare payments had been marked. Out of 501 band members, 81 (15 percent) were receiving permanent welfare in 1971.

Table 2

Enoch Band Members' Age Categories
By Percentage



Age Group	Male Number	Male Percent of Total	Female Number	Female Percent of Total
61 plus	9	2	7	2
51-60	9	2	8	2
41-50	14	3	9	2
31-40	31	7	17	4
21-30	38	8	40	9
11-20	53	12	73	16
1-10	72	16	60	15

Source: Information on Offical Band Membership List, December 1971

This segment included eight singles (disabled adults or children with no parental support) and fifteen family units, of which eleven were single parent families. An additional thirteen percent (64 out of 501) were in the occasional welfare group. This figure reflects the incidence of seasonal employment; the sector shrinks drastically in summer and increases over the slacker periods of employment during the winter months. The welfare is distributed by a female band member who is hired by Indian Affairs as welfare aide (see the section entitled "Band Leadership" later in this chapter).

Examination of these figures points to a high rate of employment and economic independence among members of the Enoch Band when compared with some other reserves (Newman:1967). The Band provides jobs on its various projects. One informant listed the opportunities available on the reserve: a man could work on "carpentry and construction, the cattle operation, the farm operation, the vegetable project, bus driving and on maintenance at the arena" (Personal communication, male band member of 35, 23 May 1972). At different points during the field work I was told that there was "no work on the reserve"; the projects seemed to fluctuate with budget allocation and seasonal demand. For instance, the root cellar operation slows down once the crop is planted; some employees there were laid off in June. Again, when a large number of cattle were sold, men employed on the operation were told to look elsewhere for work (Personal communication, female band member of 25, 15 September 1972).

The oil royalty payments to band members ($20.00 per capita per month) and family allowances are important sources of income to

the people, especially to larger families.

Kinship relationship and family structure is another striking aspect of the Enoch Band. Said Banta (1967:99):

> . . . Any person on the reserve who makes a decision affecting members of the band must keep in mind its affect on the different families. . . . These families are very complicated. Because of the many family interrelationships and the strong family ties of the band members it is very difficult for any one member to choose another band member for a job, to run machinery, or to receive more money. . . . Most people on the reserve are part of a large family group and so are forced by social pressure to help their families whenever they can. Thus an efficient use of human resources is almost impossible.

There is a significant number of women who have married into the band who come from outside the reserve. Some already have full status and simply switch band membership. Others are non-treaty and/or are Métis, and by marrying a band member acquire legal status as Treaty Indians (The Indian Act defines Indian as "a person who pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian" [Cardinal: 1969:18]).

There appears to be a definite class system operating in the community, based on factors like a steady-earned income, and those qualities necessary to acquiring it. The characteristic of staying with a job and not allowing drinking habits to interfere with the job seems to be valued as a quality of the "upper class". The Band Administrator stated that to him it was a caste, not a class system.

> . . . If you're a member of the ____ or ____ families, you've got it made out here. And you'll never see a ____ or a ____ on Council. It's the same on every reserve I've worked at. The only difference here is that the castes do associate with each other, and they don't always on other reserves. I think the reason is the fact that everyone receives equal oil royalty payments, so you don't get such a wide difference in income (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 12 June 1972).

The distinguishing characteristic of "caste" is absolute inflexibility, meaning that once born into a caste, it is impossible to achieve higher status (Cox:1970). However, individual members of the lower level of the hierarchy at Enoch are in positions of responsibility and authority. The system is therefore not entirely rigid, but appears to depend on the individual.

By the same token, the degree to which a newcomer to the community is accepted (for instance, a bride from another reserve) also seems to be related to the individual characteristics of the person. If she is introverted and will not take initiative in being friendly, then she will tend to remain an outsider; if she takes an interest in community activities and becomes involved (for instance, in working in the booth at the arena) there appears to be little problem in mixing with the people. (This could probably be observed of the newcomers in many situations, although some systems are more open to outsiders and new influences than others.) The status of the family into which the individual marries can assist or hinder her in joining the community, but is observed to be of secondary importance to her personality.

In discussing the human resources of a community, an important area of concern is the social problems of the community. The social problems Banta observed six years ago had been intensified by the rapid acquisition of wealth, in his view. He felt that "nearly all semblance of financial management within the Band had broken down" (Banta:1967:5). He gave a list of problem indicators which pointed to the need for

remedial action (which took the form of the vegetable project).

> . . . In 1963, between 40 and 50 children were wards of the government.
> . . . Between 5% and 8% of the people were in jail constantly.
> . . . Only one man was actively farming his own land.
> . . . Drinking was becoming an increasing problem every year.
> . . . Few men had jobs for longer than a month; some were not working at all (Banta:1967:7).

There were as many as thirty Edmonton taxi-cabs waiting outside the Agency on pay-day each month, to take band members to town. (This is offered as an indication of mismanagement of money, and also of the willingness with which members of the surrounding society will take advantage of the situation.)

By the summer of 1972, a different situation could be seen. Taxis for instance, were seldom in evidence, possibly because almost all members possessed a vehicle or were related to someone who did. Banta indicates that by the second year of the vegetable project (1966) there had been a substantial decrease in the number of children who were wards of the government. I was informed on several occasions that the drinking on the reserve was definitely on the decline--at least the visible, violent indications of it. The police official employed by the band intimated that the percentage of individuals in jail at any one time was now slight, certainly less than five percent. Farming and employment rates have both increased in the last five years.

By these remarks I am not trying to imply that the community is without problems. It seems more logical, however, to view these problems in the light of a broader time-perspective. The members of the Enoch

Band acquired wealth very quickly, and it is logical that they had to learn how to handle their finances, and that the learning would not occur overnight nor would it be easy. It is submitted, however, that significant progress in this direction has been made.

HOUSING AND HEALTH

The Enoch Band's standards of housing are quite comparable to those of the average Canadian, and far excel those of many other reserves in Canada. For instance, Newman's report of Saddle Lake said that "three-fourths of the homes on the reserve are below the minimum standard for the rest of the prairies." (1967:16) As already stated in the section on man-made resources, the sixty houses on the Stony Plain Reserve are equipped with electricity and modern plumbing, and a sizable proportion now have telephones. During the summer of 1972 most of the furnances were converted from propane or oil to natural gas, since the reserve has abundant natural gas. The average number of persons per house is approximately 6.6 (three more than the Edmonton average for 1966, McVey:1971). The water used is classed by National Health and Welfare as safe, although from time to time complaints are received about the hardness (iron content) of the water (Personal communication, Public Health Nurse, 30 May 1972).

The health standard of the Enoch Band was rated by the nurse as little different from that of the general population. The Public Health Nurse's work is primarily with expectant mothers and young children; for other health problems the people go mainly to the Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton. The nurse stated that there was an awareness of

contraceptive information in the community, and that some couples are using family planning techniques. In comparison, this information and practice is much less prevalent at other reserves with which the nurse has been involved (Personal communication, Public Health Nurse, 22 August 1972).

EDUCATION

Banta reports that as late as 1940 it was explicit Indian Affairs' policy not to supply textbooks for school children of twelve or fourteen because the Department doubted "the advisability of encouraging the older pupils to proceed along academic lines" (Banta:1967:11). It was felt that vocational training should be emphasized to a greater extent. This helps to explain the low levels of formal education possessed by many of the adults over thirty today. For years Enoch Band members attended a Roman Catholic residential school in St. Albert until they were old enough to leave. A band member recalled leaving when he was thirteen. He said, " I didn't have enough textbooks and that principal didn't think much of Indian kids. We just didn't get along. So I took off." (Personal communication, male band member of 40, 28 July 1972).

A three-room school was built by Indian Affairs on the reserve in the late 1940's. For a few years the children of school age attended it. An Edmonton Journal article in 1954 (6 June, p. 12) stated that school enrollment was eighty-six. It was at approximately this time that the students (except those in the first two grades) were bussed into the Jasper Place Separate Schools. Banta (1967:18) said,

"Integration was hardest for the first students sent to the city school." They were often demoted a grade or two; on the playground the Band children could hold their own but in the classroom situation they appeared inferior to their classmates. Banta spoke of the "lunch-box hierarchy" wherein a child's status was affected by the contents of his school lunch. Banta described crowded conditions not conducive to study in the children's homes at this time; the truancy rates were high. However, a Journal article stated that definite progress had been made after only four years.

> . . . The opposition raised at first has been overcome and each year the children understand and accept each other better, both on the playground and in the classroom (22 November 1958, p. 16).

After the first two grades were sent into Jasper Place, the need for a readiness program became obvious. In 1966 Indian Affairs hired a kindergarten teacher to run this program, and the band school-house was kept in use. A three-member School Committee, selected from the Band, was established to assist with the administration of the kindergarten.

Seven years later the same teacher runs the kindergarten. The children come to play-school for a year, and then to kindergarten for another year before they go to the city to "Big School". On several occasions, and by different individuals, I was told of the excellent quality of this program. The six year olds' transition to formal learning is made much easier for them, and they thoroughly enjoy going to "Little School". During my association at the kindergarten I observed an aspect which had been noted by the teacher.

> . . . These children do not think of themselves as Indian. About Indians they have old and negative stereotypes. They are

Plate 7. Playschool session in progress.

> just kids. But when they get to Big School, they learn plenty fast. B____, after a few months in grade one, saw her old teacher one day. "You know what teacher? I'm an Indian. Those kids said." (Personal communication, Kindergarten Teacher, 16 July 1972).

This example illustrates in part the complex adjustment and identity problems which these children encounter. But their gradual socialization in the ways of formal schooling and familiarity with media and concepts of learning in this environment can only be seen as a significant asset to them. They now compare very favourably with their city classmates (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 23 June 1972). It is too soon to determine whether this more positive "headstart" will affect the high school dropout rates, but it is logical to assume that it may.

An incident which occurred in the fall of 1971 illustrates the recognition by the community members of the value of this program and of "their" teacher. Due to decreasing enrollment, the District Indian Affairs officials felt that a half-day of school would be sufficient for the children of the Enoch Band. This meant combining up to twenty four and five year olds, with very different needs, in a single half-day session. When the proposal was heard by the Council, their reaction was anything but positive. A series of meetings followed, at which different band members expressed themselves to Indian Affairs representatives. The kindergarten was closed by an order from the Chief. (This occurred at the same time as the well-advertised sit-in of the Cold Lake Band in the CN Tower in Edmonton). The end result was that the kindergarten was re-opened for full days. Several informants spoke to me of this incident. It also appeared to represent to them how the

"people can run their own affairs now, Indian Affairs can't boss us around anymore" (Personal communication, female band member of 23, 5 May 1972).

In the fall of 1972, the enrollment of band children was again down. But on the initiative of a white mother living near the reserve, and with the approval of Council, three white children were admitted to the play-school and four to the kindergarten. The attendance now points securely to the need for a full-time teacher; the children now have the chance to interact informally and at an earlier age. For a short while band children are the majority group in an integrated school.

Banta stated that in 1965-66 there were nine out of a possible fifty-five students between the ages of fifteen and nineteen in high school. In 1972 this proportion had not changed significantly (Personal communication, Separate School Board Counsellor, 25 October 1972).

Training for adults is gaining popularity. In 1971-1972 several band members were enrolled in upgrading courses with the intention of apprenticing in a trade afterwards. Repeatedly I heard praise for some of the individuals involved with the Indian Affairs' adult education program. "That _____ is a pretty good guy. There's a lot start a course but never stick with it, they don't want to move to take the training or something always comes up." (Personal communication, male band member of 40, 10 August 1972). In an interview, this IAB counsellor described what he perceived as a sudden and definite interest among the people, a new consciousness or orientation directed toward learning a trade. He indicated his awareness of the problems

faced by the natives in obtaining up-grading, particularly in leaving the reserve for the apprenticeship. He explained that adult students are given individual and group counselling as they desire it (Personal communication, IAB adult educator, 13 June 1972).

During February and March of 1972, Canada Manpower and the Indian Affairs Branch jointly sponsored a farm management training course of eight weeks duration. The impetus for the program came mainly from one of the councillors (Personal communication, 23 June 1972). It was held on the reserve and met with definite success, a good deal of which could apparently be attributed to the popularity of the instructor. Almost all who enrolled finished the course; many who had signed up because of the Manpower payments finished the course for its own sake. At an evaluation meeting there was clear consensus: the course should be repeated and expanded the following year. Certainly, strong interest exists on the reserve, and if financial problems can be worked out, it is most probable that the program will continue. (From observations of the meeting, 23 June 1972).

RELIGION

Enoch Band members are all Roman Catholic with the exception of a few families; (the small Protestant influence comes from some who have married into the band; the children of these families attend Edmonton Public Schools). Different informants mentioned a decline in church attendance of late, but felt this represented a broader trend in society (Berger:1967). Some felt that the situation was not helped in

any way by the local priest.

Regrettably, the field work period was too short for me to gather very detailed information on the native religious practices still in occurrence. This appeared to me to be an extremely personal area; I was hesitant to probe, and band members volunteered little. I was told on different occasions that other reserves had retained much more of the old religion than had Stony Plain; this, if true, has possibly arisen from the comparative lack of isolation experienced by Enoch Band members, particularly in recent years.

Lowie (1954:166) observed of the Plains Cree that they were "markedly given to ritualism". He indicated that they felt that visions were of central importance, which led to a degree of impersonation in their ritualism. Traditional Plains Cree wives often helped their husbands with sacred rites, which was apparently an unusual occurrence among Plains cultures.

None of these characteristics or their remnants was I able to observe first-hand during the period of field work. But a much more intense involvement with the community would have to be carried out before it could be concluded that these qualities have been totally lost. For instance, I was told of certain graveyard suppers and other ceremonies which still take place to pacify the spirts of deceased relatives (Personal communication, 8 August 1972). Thus the religious attitudes of the people appear to be a complex blending of the native tradition, devout Catholicism, and a certain lapsed Catholicism which seems to parallel the increasing secularism of Occidental Man (Berger: 1967). In addition there are three Protestant families. Yet none of these

groups seem to be in conflict: in contrast, Newman (1967) reported how the Catholic-Protestant split of the people of the Saddle Lake Reserve is a serious divisive influence on the reserve.

The annual pilgrimage to Lac Ste. Anne exemplifies the blending of religions and also the growing secularism.

> . . . Hundreds of Indians and Metis people from all parts of Alberta and Canada attended the annual Lac Ste. Anne pilgrimage on Wednesday, July 22, 1972.
> . . . An event with a proud history, the pilgrimage for some commemorates the days of 1889 when the Christian Indians prayers for rain were answered. To others it's just a day to meet friends and relatives. . . . Beginning Sunday, the people started arriving. . . . By Wednesday morning the camping area was a sea of tents. . . . Above the noise of children's voices, car horns and clanging pots the sound of Cree and Blackfoot hymns could be heard.
> . . . When asked about the differences she has seen [a pilgrim of 89] carefully thought: "It was a lot better years ago because there was no drinking. The people really came for the pilgrimage." (The Native People, 28 July 1972, pp. 1-2).

Many of the Enoch Band members attended the pilgrimage and reported it as the most important religious event of the year.

Another community custom indicates this synthesis of religions. The night-long wake which is a tradition in certain Roman Catholic groups blends easily with the native death-ceremonial occurrences (Mandelbaum:1940) and is held to honour a deceased member of the band on the eve of the funeral.

RECREATION

The keen interest in recreational activities can be regarded as a carry-over from the traditional Plains Cree culture. Lowie (1954:122) reports that the Plains Cree had a relatively wide range of

amusements, including games, dances, attendance at major festivals and story-telling. He states that the adults were addicted to games of chance, using dice sticks or small bone chips. They also emphasized games of dexterity like archery contests and foot and horse races. Everyone participated in important theatrical ceremonials. The dances which were associated with these occurrences were apparently not complex, with the exception of the war dances; men and women seldom danced together. Now, although the games have changed, attitudes and involvement have not. Tangible evidence of the high priority attached to recreation is the arena, of which band members are very proud. The recreation secretary explained how it had been built with a mind to future needs: its plans accomodate future expansion, should it be desired, for other activities like curling and gymnastics.

The band contributes toward the budget for the Parklands Regional Recreation Council and chooses, from the programs offered by it, the ones for which an interest is expressed on the Reserve. The band recreation director (also the Councillor in charge of recreation) provides the linkage between the County Recreation Council and the band members. He is assisted in his work by his wife who "takes care of all clerical duties" (The Native People, 26 May 1972, p. 5). This article in the Native People, speaks of the band's involvement with hockey, softball and baseball for several age groups. There is a large collection of trophies on display in the council room in the old office; evidence of the repeated success of the different teams. Other

activities in which the people participated in 1972 were figure skating and swimming lessons for the children. An inter-racial hockey school located at the arena lasted for six weeks in the summer; it was run by the Edmonton Metropolitan Hockey Association which paid maintenance costs for the session. Band women ran the refreshments booth and received ten percent of the proceeds from it, and those boys of the band who wanted to attend the school did so free of charge (Personal communication, male band member of 15, 20 July 1972). The Band Administrator regarded the hockey school as providing the boys with opportunities for another level of learning more valuable than the hockey skills they were acquiring. Of the boys' interaction the coach had said to the Administrator:

> . . . for the first day, and decreasingly so for four or five, there are most definitely two races on the ice. But by the first game on Saturday the boys are intermingled and are equally enthusiastic when a white or an Indian scores or plays well (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 10 August 1972).

Another major event of the summer was the rodeo sponsored by, the band for the third consecutive year. New rodeo grounds had been built for this occasion at a different location near the ball diamonds. The old rodeo grounds had been located in the east central area of the reserve. They had been in need of major repair, and in view of some of the proposals for commerical recreation development in this area, it was decided to re-establish the grounds south of the village and adjacent to Highway 60. Keen interest surrounded the rodeo; for the recreation director and his wife it meant weeks of preparation and then the actual weekend of hard work. The 1972 rodeo, according to different band members, was "good" this year, but did not bring in as large a

crowd as in the past. The Indian Rodeo circuit consists of rodeos on several reserves in Canada and the United States; a good number of people attend more than the one on their home reserve, and they camp or stay with relatives when visiting another one. Softball and baseball tournaments are also popular and are held on several reserves.

The recreation director spoke to me of the interest among the crew--then working on the new rodeo grounds--for learning amateur rodeo skills. He explained his method of introducing a new program on the reserve: he does not structure or plan programs until it is obvious that this is what a segment of the community wants. In this case, if demand continues, a rodeo school may be held, in which professional riders would instruct band members. The band has already purchased some of its own rodeo stock. It appears that the recreation director is using the non-directive approach often recommended in the literature on the role of the effective change agent.

Individual recreation tastes of band members are varied and are not confined to the reserve. Different ones told of camping holidays, of swimming at a provincial park on a Sunday afternoon, and of avid interest in water skiing and boating. Interest in the rides at the Exhibition, the gambling on the midway, bingo and harness races, is keen among the people.

For the past few summers, the Alberta Service Corps has provided volunteers (one or two to a reserve) whose focus has often been recreational activities with the youth of the community. Such has been the case at Enoch. In 1971 a young white girl worked with the band children on a variety of activities for the entire summer. In

1972 Enoch was allocated a male worker, and he helped coach some of the ball teams. These volunteers boarded with reserve families and for a while became a part of the community. It was work similar to this with which I was involved: on a very informal basis, I provided guidance for some activities in which the children wanted to take part.

VALUES AND LIFE STYLE

> . . . Values are essentially "ideals of the desirable" which are held by individuals; many values are shared by most of the people in the community and thus form the basis for predictable patterns of behaviour (Connor: 1969:14).

With this definition in mind, I have prepared a list of the values of the Stony Plain Reserve Community as they became obvious to me during the period of field work. More than any other section, this list is based on a subjective interpretation of behaviour observed and attitudes expressed to me. As such, it is probably most liable to criticism from community members. To any potential critics, I wish to say that I am presenting this as one individual's perception only, being fully aware of the limitations of such an approach. I am trying to represent to readers not from the Stony Plain Reserve a picture of the life style I observed there. It will probably be suggested that many of these values are equally representative of other communities, native, non-native and mixed, across Canada, which could be true, but does not lessen the relevance here. However, for almost every value identified which seemed general, there were individuals, couples, or families who did not adhere to it. Also, this list of values does not attempt to be exhaustive but merely suggestive of the community's ideals.

Table 3

List of Community Values

Behaviour Observed or Reported	Value Inferred
Permissiveness in child-rearing; yelling but little corporal punishment, candy and treats often lavished . . . some inconsistency observed. But children loved deeply.	Children are valued highly.
Fast turnover in material possessions (furniture, clothes, cars, toys); no attitude of "making them last" perceived. Knocking before entering not widespread.	Personal property and privacy are not stressed to the degree that they are in some other communities.
Specific remarks: "Look at how light that baby is. She'll be able to pass eh?"	A certain preference given to light therefore "non-Indian" characteristics.
Rigid scheduling traditionally foreign, and various degrees of adaptation observed. e.g. some individuals were "on time" for meetings; some were not. The meetings seldom started when planned.	"Indian time", a concept originating in the native culture and involving flexibility and impulse rather than rigidity and foresight, is still very much in existence.
"Wild weekends" frequent. Routine abandoned during Klondike Days, the Calgary Stampede, Indian Days on neighbouring reserves, rodeos, ball tournaments.	Festivities and "good times" are still very important, as they were traditionally.
Specific statements, "It was none of my business": "He had to handle that fight himself".	Non-interference in another's affairs is practiced.
Much gossip heard regarding community members.	Social control is exerted by informal means such as gossip.
Keen interest in the bingos, the race tracks, the midways.	Gambling/games of chance are as important as traditionally.

Table 3 (continued)

Behaviour Observed or Reported	Value Inferred
Interaction patterns often stressed; informal joking, teasing, a genuine love of fun.	Humour/joking are of great importance.
Internal friction (e.g., between husband and wife or between families/factions) frequently reported. However, in the face of an external threat or in certain special situations, the community acted as a highly cohesive unit (e.g., the difficulty experienced by the band constable in law enforcement because it is so rare for individuals to press charges against each other; the organization for the wake of a deceased band member is carried out smoothly).	Strong feelings of "we-ness" in the community; the members are involved in primary relationships. That is, community members value and respect each other, but because of the close physical proximity and mounting frustrations they will turn against each other at times.
Reports of spirit-appeasing ceremonies; the pilgrimage to Lac Ste. Anne; increasing secularism paralleling that in non-native communities.	Religion is still a part of the community, although apparently of decreasing importance to some members of the younger generations. But the synthesis of old and new religions is unique.
Most community members seemed to look at a steady job as ideal; some have acquired the skills and traits necessary for this, others have not.	A steady job/income and its advantages (material goods, status) is valued highly.
There appeared to be a negative stigma against living on welfare assistance.	Welfare/handouts are of negative value.
There appeared to be mixed feelings about the importance of education. I heard education achievements praised; I also heard band members with an education "called down" as being no longer Indian.	Formal education in the ways of white society is valued highly by some band members. Others see no relevance in it and place little value on it.

One type of behaviour occurred frequently enough within the community, but few individuals were shocked by it. Several band members became sexually involved and established either legal or common-law marriages at a fairly young age (around eighteen). The expectation that many would "play around" after even a short period of marriage appeared prevalent. This helps to explain the apparent jealousy of some toward their spouses. Jealous distrust seemed to be never far from the surface and frequently erupted during drinking sessions. Incidences of spouse-beating and of fights between men, as well as women, were reported. Certain positive value was attached to an individual, man or woman, who could defend himself in a fight. This is not to suggest that fights were common; they were simply not uncommon, and seemed to surprise no one.

One logical explanation for the expression of and attitude toward violence is that the frustrated individual will seek aggression and hostility as an outlet. Such violence of member against member did not exist in the traditional culture (Lowie: 1954). It is suggested by some anthropologists (Darnell, Personal Communication, University of Alberta, 19 September 1972) that violence is a result of the cultural disintegration and increasing frustration which the native North American has experienced.

Another aspect of this behaviour is the seemingly high frequency of violent deaths among native people, today primarily on the highways. I was not able to compile definite statistics, but was told by different informants on several occasions that the most common form of death for members was through traffic fatalities. Heather Robertson (1970) offers

documentation to support this.

It is hoped that a clearer picture of the community values and general life style has emerged from this discussion, superficial as it is. The overriding factor seems to be the blending of aboriginal and modern attitudes and world view.

SOURCES OF REVENUE

Oil and Gas

Banta (1967) stated that in July 1965 there were thirty-eight producing oil wells and four gas wells on the Reserve, with revenue approximately $150,000 a year. By 1972 the expected returns from sale of these resources was between $40,000 to $45,000 per month (Personal communication, 13 June 1972). However, there is an awareness that these resources are non-renewable. Alternate sources of revenue, like the proposed recreational development are being examined by Council. Since late in 1971 the Band has been receiving municipal tax payments from the resident oil companies.

Enoch Park

In 1965, land along the north-eastern border of the reserve was leased for a rifle range and a regional park (Tomahawk Park). By 1972 consideration was being given to developing some of the two thousand acres of sandy land along the east side of the reserve. An outside consultant firm was hired to evaluate the resources. This report was in part based on the research carried out by the Edmonton Regional Planning Commission, and considered the potential for various types of development (Underwood McClelland and Associates: 1972). The firm

recommended some types of commercial recreation and country residences, arranged on a basis of lease, not sale of the land. Council held a referendum over this issue; band members first vetoed the concept of development, and then passed it on the second referendum on the 10 March 1972. (It is an Indian Affairs' regulation that fifty percent plus one of the eligible voters must support an issue such as this. A majority of the voters in the first referendum on the development actually supported the idea, but because of the eligible but non-voting sector, the decision was considered invalid [Personal communication, Band Administrator, 10 March 1972]). The general proposal, having finally received approval of the band, was then submitted to Ottawa. I was told of a variety of developments which were supposed to be in the offing. Rumours of a high-density urban apartment complex with associated shopping and school facilities were heard. The consultant firm's report directly discouraged this type of development and Council agreed with the basic thrust of the report. Maintaining some of the land in its natural state was one of the expressed goals of Council. It is reasonable to assume that, once Ottawa "rubber stamps" the proposal, the Band will proceed in the direction indicated by the report, and there will be substantial returns from the lease of the land.

Agriculture

Banta (1967) has traced the development of agriculture on the Stony Plain Reserve, declaring that until the 1940's it was comparable to that outside the reserve. From 1940 to 1965 there occurred a steady decline in the number of individuals who were farming their own land;

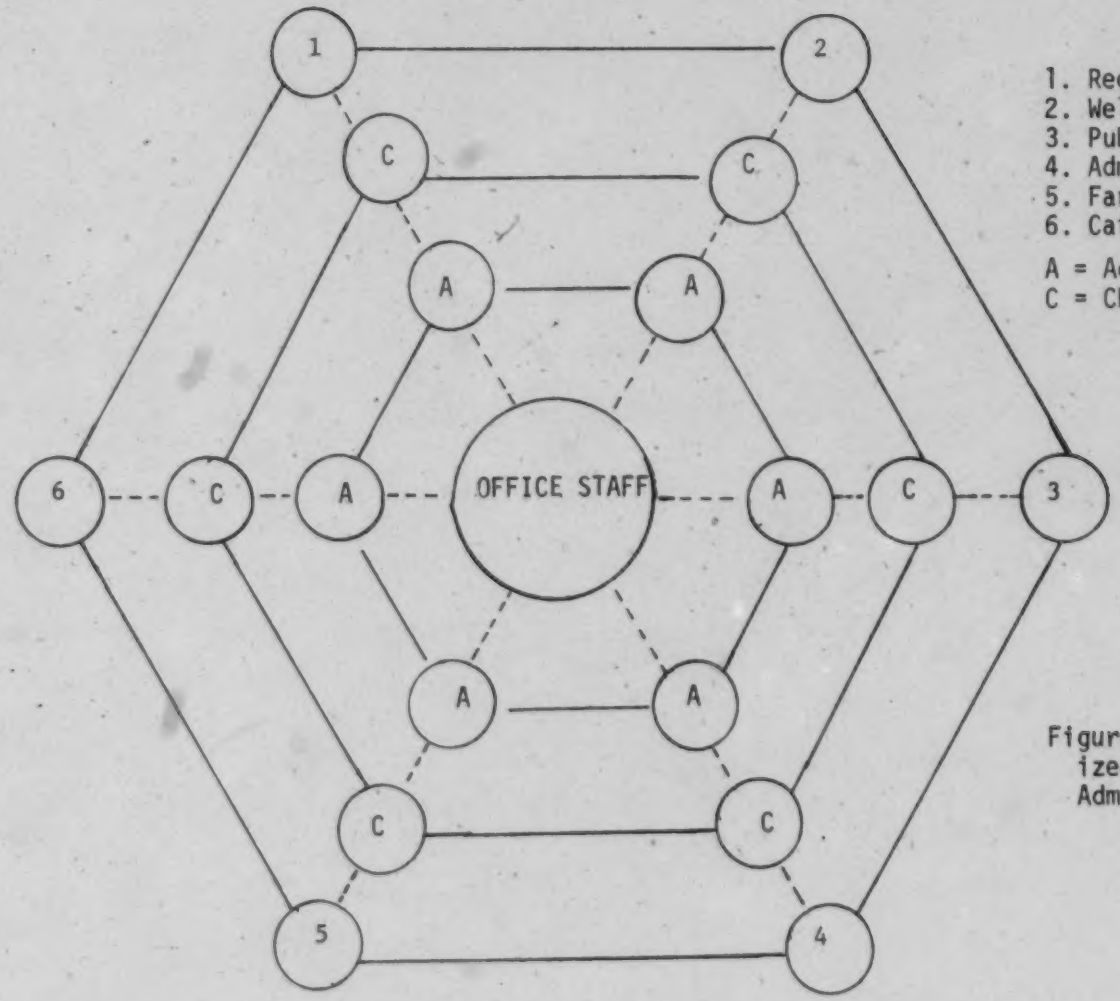
instead, a significant percentage was leased to white farmers. In May 1965 a Co-op farm was officially started for which Council set aside five quarter sections. It ran into problems severe enough for it to be disbanded one year later. However, by 1972 the farm and cattle operation run by the band had grown to sizable proportions (34,000 to 35,000 acres under cultivation).

The vegetable project evaluated by Banta in 1966 as being unprofitable in financial terms but very worthwhile if other indicators were used, did break even in 1970, a bumper crop year. To alleviate problems of marketing the potatoes, the band joined the Edmonton Potato Growers Association. Other problems ensued, but have been worked out, and the relationship is satisfactory (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 23 June 1972). The root cellar and potato project in general is regarded as "not our real money maker. But it does keep men employed." (The Native People, 26 May 1972, p. 5). One informant said of the vegetable project:

> . . . It's getting better now . . . for awhile anyone could work there and too much money was going out in wages, so they quit that. They had trouble getting a market too. (Personal communication, female band member of 23, 5 May 1972).

BAND LEADERSHIP

The local government body consists of a chief and five councillors (a councillor for every hundred band members) elected by all adults, every two years. The by-election for the fifth councillor was held early in 1972, as the band membership topped five hundred. The chief and council receive substantial salaries which have increased



LEGEND

1. Recreation Councillor
2. Welfare: Welfare Aide
3. Public Works Councillor
4. Administration Councillor
5. Farm Operation Councillor
6. Cattle Councillor

A = Administrator
C = Chief

Figure 3.-- Enoch's functionalized Council (sketched by Band Administrator, 13 June 1972).

from $30.00 per month in 1957 to $500.00 per month now. (Personal communication, Band Councillor, 7 July 1972). Each councillor has a certain area for which he is directly responsible (see Diagram 1). This "functionalized" council is another first for the Enoch Band; it allows the men to specialize in an area for which they are responsible. The specialities are the cattle operation, the farm operation, recreation, public works and administration. The welfare aide (at one time a councillor) is still involved with Council over matters related to band welfare assistance. She is employed on a part-time basis by the Indian Affairs Branch. The Band Administrator assists the councillors singly or in a group, as they require it. The Chief also assists where needed.

An Indian Affairs official gave his impressions of the present Enoch Council:

> . . . After seven years away, I am struck by the difference in the outlook of the leaders of the band: then they were living one day at a time; now, younger men generally, are looking outward and thinking ahead to a much greater degree. (Personal communication, Indian Affairs employee, 9 June 1972).

This is not to suggest that there is no criticism or resentment of the local government authority. The widespread community belief that the band funds are unlimited and can be dispensed freely often confronts Council: their attempts to follow a budget force them to limit access to band funds, which action is not popular with some of the people. (Observations, May to October, 1972). One informant, not on Council, stated, "They are under a lot of pressure to arrange loans and jobs." (Personal communication, male band member of 35, 23 May 1972).

Often the chief or one of the councillors is involved with supervising the different projects on the reserve. They spend considerable time at the office: regular council meetings are every two weeks and may last for two day sessions; besides, emergency or sub-committee meetings occur frequently. The structure of these meetings has changed notably in the last few years. Not long ago the resident agricultural supervisor chaired the meetings, took the minutes and had them typed at the District Office of the Indian Affairs Branch. Today, the councillors take turns acting as chairman, one of the secretaries records minutes, and each councillor has a copy of the minutes from past meetings. In the meetings which I observed, although some councillors tended to talk more than others, each appeared to be personally involved with the business under discussion, to understand the issues, and to be contributing to the process of local government.

The chief served as a councillor before he was elected to his present position in June of 1969. He was re-elected by a high percentage of the vote in 1971. One informant told me that it was not easy to fine someone to run against him, his popularity was so strong. (Personal communication, female band member of 23, 5 May 1972). The Band Administrator had this to say:

> . . . You can almost see the difference since [he] has taken hold. . . . He has grade six education but he has a sophisticated understanding of his job . . . he is looking ahead. (Personal communication, 9 June 1972).

The matter of changing the present elective system was being considered by Council during the field work period. Some were promoting the idea of the individual councillor being elected for a four year

term, and of holding the elections every two years for half the Council. Thus the individual newly elected would have time to learn his role and responsibilities and then be able to work more effectively for the longer term. At the same time, the Band would never be left with an entirely new Council, and would gain continuity in their formal leadership.

One councillor expressed his concern that the Enoch Band is still facing problems of rapid adjustment.

> . . . I think we're moving too fast, we're getting ahead of ourselves. It's up to us to smarten up and slow down, get back in step. (Personal communication, 22 August 1972).

Another voiced his frustration with some of the more negative aspects of the local political game.

> . . . There's some people who are never satisfied. No matter how much you give them, they always expect more. What do you do when you have to say no, there's no more money? [I mumbled something about just saying no, and if he was fair, people would know and accept it as such.] . . . But they would say the money is going somewhere, it must be going to me then. They don't know what fair is. It's the ones who want to be on council. Next election, the whole tables can be turned, just that quick. Then it goes the other way. (Personal communication, Band Councillor, 22 August 1972).

Old family disagreements and a degree of factionalism appeared to enter into the picture, further complicating the jobs of the chief and councillors. And the question of who possesses the actual power in the community arose. Dissatisfaction with personalities or with the performances of the councillors on the part of the band members could mean a totally new authority after the election in June of 1973. The average Stony Plain Reserve resident is thus far from powerless in the running of the affairs of the community.

The office staff plays a central part in handling the affairs of the band. Members carry out their duties efficiently; they are increasingly more competent in their various specialities. (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 23 June 1972).

> . . . The band at present employs an office staff of five persons: a social worker, an office manager, a secretary, a secretary clerk and an administrator. (The Native People, 26 May 1972, p. 5).

The office manager, the secretary and the secretary clerk are female band members with prior training. The social worker--or welfare aide--is also a female band member. An Indian Affairs employee, she has learned mainly from on-the-job experience and a good number of short courses and conferences. (Personal communication, Band Welfare Aide, 26 July 1972). The Administrator, previously an employee of Indian Affairs, is now on a two year contract with the band to assist the transition from Indian Affairs' to band member administration.

An element which I was trying to identify during the field work was the informal leadership of the community. Because the research period was so limited in time, I was not able to observe this directly. But I questioned different individuals and the replies pointed quite definitely to the chief as being both formal and informal leader. To a degree, some of the councillors also seemed to fill both formal and informal leadership roles. One female band member, the recreation secretary, appeared to be very influential among the women in particular, and this observation was supported by informants. Her main technique in organizing different recreation activities, besides working very hard herself, is to delegate responsibility to her volunteer

helpers, and she finds this very successful. (Personal communication, recreation secretary, 15 September 1972). Other individuals, who were not in formal leadership positions, but who were reported to have the ability to "stir up quite a following over an issue if they wanted to" (Personal communication, 13 September 1972) also appeared to be informal leaders, at least from time to time.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

Because of their geographic location, Enoch Band members have become increasingly involved with the City of Edmonton. Their children are bussed into the Separate School System throughout the school year. Many, if not most, families come into the larger centre for shopping for groceries and clothing. The Edmonton race track, bingo games, bars, musical entertainment all tend to involve the people in the urban environment. The decrease in the reserve social isolation which the band has experienced is in quite distinct contrast with others for whom physical distance intensifies the social distance from the surrounding society.

As already mentioned, there is considerable communication and visiting between certain reserves, often resulting in intermarriage and a single family having relatives on more than one reserve. One past employee of National Health and Welfare who had worked on the different reserves west of Edmonton had this to say:

> . . . The communication and movement between the reserves was strong between Winterburn and Alexander, and to a lesser degree with Alexis (which is Cree and Stony mixed). Yet there seemed to be little contact between Duffield (Stony) and Winterburn, there seemed to be considerable resentment and little actual

> knowledge between the two. (Personal communication, 14 June 1972).

This person was recalling the situation around 1967, and stated that while Winterburn did not sponsor its own "Indian Days", many of the residents visited these events on other reserves. Over the summer of 1972 I was told of several instances of this nature occurring. It would seem also that some of the social distance between Winterburn and Duffield may have decreased since 1967. An indication of this was the Duffield boys' participation in the Enoch Hockey School. The chief of Duffield, which has fewer financial resources than Enoch, explained his regret that the young boys from his reserve would not be able to be involved with hockey school this year. With a little effort, some free funds were located in Indian Affairs Regional office, and these were allocated to Duffield.

> . . . And you know, if Regional Office couldn't have come through, the Enoch Band would have lent the money, on a repayable basis, [Council] said, but I'm pretty sure it would have boiled down to an out and out gift. Those boys out there [the Chief and Council] are pretty soft-hearted when it comes to kids. They're a very generous people. (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 10 August 1972).

The Enoch Band provided bus service for the Paul Band's (Duffield) boys, further assisting their attendance at hockey school.

No observations of relations between band members and the neighbouring whites were made until September. At this time, as already described, some of the younger children from these white families were enrolled at the Sunny Plain kindergarten. In this case the parents dealt with Council and with the Administrator, and satisfactory arrangements were worked out. The situation is not without its problems,

but the implications could be far-reaching and positive.

The reserve recreation staff is of course involved with the Parklands Regional Recreation Council, and the various sports teams from the band compete against teams from the district.

Regarding the Indian Association of Alberta there seemed to be mixed feeling. While recognizing the value of such an organization, Enoch members had some reservations about the matter. One councillor summed up concisely:

> . . . This reserve is ahead of most of the others in Alberta. . . . Everything they [IAA] are trying for, roads, housing, good schools, we've got that. That's why this reserve isn't that interested in what goes on at the Association. (Personal communication, Band Councillor, 7 July 1972).

The reserve did send its appointed representative to the annual meeting of the Indian Association. There was also some expression of dissatisfaction with the leaders of the Association, and questions about their wisdom and their motives. (Personal communication, band members, 29 June 1972 and 7 July 1972).

THE RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIAN AFFAIRS

In 1965 the Edmonton-Hobbema District office of the Indian Affairs Branch had seven employees. By 1972 there were forty working out of the District Office. In addition, there were no band employees in 1965 and eighty in 1972. (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 8 August 1972). The various special divisions of staff workers are administration and finance, economic development, construction, education, vocational education and community affairs. I spoke to different ones on staff at District Office, asking them for their perceptions

about Enoch. They felt that the principal causes for Enoch's unique position lay in its proximity to the city and its wealth in resources. I was repeatedly referred to the band administrator as the key resource person to answer my questions. (Personal communication, IAB staff members, 9 June 1972).

It appears that the traditional "care-taking" approach of the IAB is changing. Newman (1967:72) writes:

> . . . The traditional channel of communication with the reserves, The Indian Affairs Agency Assistant, lived and worked on the reserve throughout the year. . . . He distributed welfare, he was the agriculture and economic advisor, he handled the administration of Indian education. The people knew where he was; they could approach him easily.

Thus while the native people did not appear to have a great voice in the running of their lives, still they knew personally and felt they could talk to their resident agent. In 1965, says Newman, Indian Affairs switched to a "functionalized" staff located in a larger centre. The resident agents now worked from the central location, each with a special field, and each covered all reserves in that area. There were advantages in functionalism, the principle one being a more efficient use of resource people. But there was a negative side which Newman describes. Outstanding was the loss of much of the personal contact between staff and native people. "The results of the change to functionalism appear to be the breakdown of the main channel of the direct communication between the Indian Affairs Branch and the Saddle Lake Reserve Members" (Newman: 1967:74). It is logical to generalize somewhat from this one instance, and suggest that this loss of communication

has been quite widespread. There is increasing indication, however, that the people are tending to assume more responsibility under this system than the resident one. An example of Indian Affairs' delegating authority can be seen in the case of the welfare aide at Enoch.

> . . . Five years ago when I started I prepared all the cheques and paper work, but all of it had to be approved at South Side Office. Now we can call our superintendent for advice or for moral support, but we make the major decisions. (Personal communication, Welfare Aide, 26 July 1972).

I was told that in many cases the approval from Ottawa has become a formality. The band revenue is held in trust and drawing interest in Ottawa, and Indian Affairs has two basic criteria in evaluating requests for band funds (the degree of socioeconomic development envisioned and the effect the proposal will conceivably have on members). But even if Ottawa perceived that the money would be severely mismanaged, it would almost certainly give the go-ahead regardless. (Personal communication, 13 June 1972).

At Council meetings which I observed, the District Supervisor consistently stressed the need for a District Council of the various bands. Working on the problems which appeared to be common to most of the bands would be simplified by the formation of such a Council. (There is no longer any regulation stating that an Indian Affairs representative must be in attendance at the Council meetings, as was the case a few years ago. Officials drop in and out, sometimes on request, sometimes by their own choice).

An illustration of the growing consciousness of independence from Indian Affairs, the issue of the attempted reduction of the Stony Plain kindergarten program from full to half-days in the fall of 1971,

has already been discussed. Indian Affairs does maintain certain controls, however. For instance, if school age children miss more than five days of school (other than in the case of illness) then the monthly family allowance is stopped for that child for that month. (Personal communication, 12 June 1972). Another informant stated that this practice was seldom carried out, that it existed more as a control on school attendance than anything else. (Personal communication, 13 September 1972).

The Indian Affairs' rotating herd policy is one instance of a well-intentioned, theoretically sound program which has not been particularly successful. Under this program a band member with the facilities and the technical knowledge for raising cattle can receive a herd "allotted for one year subject to two further renewals of one year each where warranted by performance" (from posted regulations, Band Bulletin Board). Ideally, then, the band member keeps whatever calves have been produced by the basic herd in the three year period, after which time the herd moves on to some other applicant and produces another herd.

A definite problem with the rotating herd policy at Enoch seems to be sheer lack of good public relations--most of the band members had never heard of it, or if they had heard of it, they had never seriously considered it for themselves. The process of the application itself may well have been a prohibiting factor. The regulations are many and complicated, and require considerable effort just to read, if one temporarily ignores the problems of acquiring machinery to produce winter feed, possessing winter shelter, good water, the wherewithal for veterinary

expenses, and so on.

There seems to be an awareness among the people that if criticism of the Indian Affairs Branch is warranted, it is not necessarily the individuals who work in the Department, but rather the overall system which needs to be changed.

> . . . There's deadwood in there like you wouldn't believe, but there's also sincere and dedicated people who simply want to help the Indians help themselves, and the Indians know this. You don't fool and Indian for very long. (Personal communication, 13 June 1972).

Chapter V

THE CHANGE AGENT

INTRODUCTION

During the period of field work it became more and more apparent to me that the band administrator could be viewed as a community change agent, although he was not hired for this purpose and he did not see himself in this light. This chapter focuses in detail on this individual, his work, his philosophy, his results, and then offers the opinions of band members and of other persons who have worked with him at one time or another. An indication of his influence on the total resource development of the community should thus emerge.

THE MAN AND HIS WORK

Background

The Enoch Band's Administrator was an employee of the Indian Affairs Branch for fifteen years prior to his present contract with Enoch. The first eight of these years were spent in association with reserves which, in comparison with Stony Plain are rural and isolated. The Administrator enjoyed his work in these communities, learning from the people even as he was hired to "take care" of them in the accepted manner of the Indian Affairs Branch at the time. He refused to fit the mold too rigidly however. In the second community he organized a "working for welfare" program which the people ran themselves. Unfortunately,

the basic premise of the program was illegal by federal-provincial law. (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 15 June 1972.) As far as the people were concerned, they had become legitimate wage earners and many of the problems often associated with the "welfare dole" (for example, loss of self-confidence and personal dignity) disappeared for the duration of the program.

Indian Affairs had for several years been supplying this community and others with quantities of building materials, to be used by the people. However, there were enough regulations surrounding the distribution of these materials to severely limit the amount which the people requested. The Administrator, in this situation hired to give out the welfare cheques, initiated a process whereby the working men formed themselves into crews, selected their foremen, kept their own time sheets, and used the building material to improve some of the living conditions of the area. They were paid from the welfare funds according to the number of hours they had put in over the "pay period". It had also been accepted practice on the part of the Indian Affairs employee in the region to decrease the amount for which a family was eligible if any wild game or fish was brought in. The Administrator spoke to the people in a meeting:

> . . . I won't dock your cheques if you fish or trap: what we'll do is this: each man will work a day for every ten dollars of welfare he is entitled to receive, every month. (Personal communication, 15 June 1972.)

The people voted to try the new plan. The Administrator's responsibility was to write the cheques. He recalls that very few tried to evade the system, and most worked with a will.

> . . . They would move a family to stay with relatives for a few days, and put down flooring, proper roofing, insulation. They moved all around the settlement this way. They sunk wells, put in culverts, built two community halls. This went on for three years. (Personal communication, 15 June 1972.)

Because of the technically illegal nature of the program, the Indian Affairs Branch could not allow it to continue unchecked, in spite of its success in terms of the improved living conditions and the new attitudes of the people. It was just at this time that the Alberta Government was organizing its official Community Development Program. The Administrator was transferred to work out of the Edmonton-Hobbema District Office (he requested this move because of the educational needs of his children) and a Community Development worker was located in this area. The working-for-welfare program was abandoned. (Personal communication, 14 June 1972.)

This incident has been considered in detail because, besides shedding light on the work history of the Administrator, it also provides an indication of the type of approach which he often uses. For the next few years the Administrator worked as one of the "functionalized" employees of the Indian Affairs Branch. He was appointed as Assistant Superintendent and he visited the four reserves west of Edmonton in this capacity. Stony Plain Number 135 was one of these. Gradually he became more closely involved with Enoch, until in 1971 the Band broached the subject of his working for them on a two year contract. He was to help them manage their business matters, and to help the office staff, the chief and the councillors learn more about the administrative duties for the band.

Philosophy

Although the Indian Affairs Branch has been viewed as an essentially care-taking system (Newman:1967) and although the Administrator spent years with the Branch, he is not a "care-taker". One of the key aspects of his philosophy has been and is the encouragement of participation by the people in the managing of their own affairs and in the making of the decisions which concern them.

> . . . I used to tell them, "Look, it's your community, it's your homes that need fixing up. I'm not running a thing. You guys are going to pick your own foremen, you're going to keep your own time and run your own show." (Personal communication, 21 June 1972.)

In another context, the Administrator had this to say of an attempt by Indian Affairs, well-intentioned enough, to "lay-on" a policy: "It's no go as far as I'm concerned, until the Band is pushing for it." (Personal communication, 26 June 1972.) Some of the roles used by the Administrator which encourage people participation will be examined in the following section.

Basic to his philosophy is a belief in the "equality of mankind" and his actions support and illustrate this belief. I heard different reports of how he "levels with the people": "He doesn't talk down to us, but he isn't afraid to disagree if he feels he should." (Personal communication, male band member of 35, 15 September 1972.) An indication of the honesty of the man also emerged from these statements. If there is a difference between Administrator and Band member, it is over an issue, not a personality, and when the problem has been worked through, there is no need for hard feelings or continued conflict. (Personal

communication, band member, 13 September 1972.)

General Approach

Examples of the egalitarian approach of the Administrator were observed many times over the summer. For instance, the staff coffee room was often the scene of relaxed, informal joking on the part of all the staff and the Administrator was clearly participating as an equal member of the group. During one of the Council meetings which I observed, one of the councillors asked him to take care of the matter under discussion since he was better qualified. The reply: "No --- way! This is you guys' decision, not mine." (13 June 1972) Yet one band member, temporarily irate, accused the Council of depending too much on the Administrator: "They can't run a meeting without him!" (Personal communication, female band member of 45, 26 July 1972.)

Working in the Community

For a period after the resident supervisors were withdrawn from the reserves, it was still explicit policy that an Indian Affairs employee be present at the Council Meetings. This was when the Administrator was working out of District Office, and he was called upon to attend some of the Council meetings at Enoch. Council was accustomed to having their agricultural supervisor chair the meetings, take the minutes and send them to District Office to be typed. The Administrator refused to act as chairman, and after a transition period, the councillors grew to prefer handling their own meetings, and became competent doing so. (This has already been discussed in the preceding

chapter in the section on "Band Leadership".) (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 27 June 1972.) At the Council meetings which I observed, the Administrator did not play a dominant role, and generally spoke only when his views were requested. The introduction of the concept of the functionalized Council (already outlined) has also resulted from encouragement by the Administrator. (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 13 June 1972.)

The members of the office staff have likewise been described in the preceding chapter. One of the Administrator's specific duties has been to assist the office staff to improve its organization and division of labour. This has been accomplished by the combined effort of staff and Administrator, since the latter was hired by the Enoch Band early in 1971. A key component of the Administrator's teaching ability seems to be his consistent expectation that the different individuals on staff are capable of becoming competent in their specialties. He feels that a valid method of learning is to try and carry out the task, with the idea that the theoretical aspect will make more sense after the practical side has been mastered. (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 9 June 1972.) From observations of the office staff on duty, it is concluded that this teaching method is highly effective.

The fact that the Enoch Band has become the first in Canada to tax its resident oil companies was facilitated by the Administrator. A few years ago provincial legislation altered the municipal taxation structure. The companies drilling on the Stony Plain Reserve had been paying municipal taxes to the County of Parkland. The new legislation

exempted reserve land from the control of the County in this manner; the initial result was that these oil companies were paying no municipal taxes. The Administrator drew the attention of Council to this situation, and they reacted by inquiring for ways in which this could be changed. "Is there any way that we can tax them?" (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 15 June 1972.) The Administrator investigated some of the alternatives, and began working on the wording of a proposed Bylaw containing the changes desired by Council. Meetings with legal Counsel for the oil companies and with the Indian Affairs Branch in Ottawa followed, and eventually the Bylaw was satisfactory to all concerned. It was passed by the Enoch Council late in 1971 and has yielded substantial increase in revenue to the Band. (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 13 June 1972.)

The Administrator has assisted the Council to move in the directions which have resulted in the construction of the Arena and the new office. Together now they are examining the idea of leasing some of the area along the eastern portion of the reserve for certain types of development. The Administrator acts as expert and interpreter as these roles are required, but he attempts at all times to encourage Council to evaluate and weigh alternatives, then make its decision and act in accordance with it.

He is conscious of the real possibility that the councillors may become too dependent on him, even though his contract with them is limited. To counteract this possibility, the Administrator made conscious attempts over the summer of 1972 to give the office staff and

Council opportunity to function in his absence. (The phrase in the change agent literature for this is "phasing out", for example see Biddle and Biddle:1968). The Administrator from time to time has accompanied the Indian Affairs Band Training Unit from the Regional Office and assisted the Unit in conducting short courses on other reserves. For this purpose, due holiday time was taken, and permission from the Enoch Council was sought on each occasion. Thus the staff and the Council began to cope with various problems and issues without the Administrator, which was an essential part of their learning (Personal communication, Band Administration, 9 June 1972 and 17 July 1972).

Consideration of the content of the Administrator's contribution at these short courses also serves to indicate the basic elements of his approach at Enoch. The area which he discusses involves

> . . . local government, the historical development of present-day situations, the necessity of participation at the local level for good government all the way up . . . [also] the proper way to write up band council resolutions and bylaws and about duties and divisions of labour for office staff, geared to the number of employees and the size and special situation of the particular band (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 25 July 1972).

His Perception of His Role

The Administrator sees himself as an individual who has always "refused to let sleeping dogs lie", and feels that "if you can't criticize yourself, it's game over." (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 15 June 1972 and 21 June 1972). He told me of different conferences he had attended where he had "refused to keep [his] mouth shut about a touchy subject," and of how the sessions tended to open up and improve, if someone had the courage to do this (Personal communi-

cation, Band Administrator, 15 June 1972.) He will work for change whenever he sees the necessity for it, but not for its own sake. Although sometimes frustrated by resistant or apathetic forces, the Administrator does not become too discouraged in these situations; he seldom loses his sense of progress or direction. He has only to look for instance, at the way the office staff has taken hold, in a relatively short time, for tangible proof of the peoples' increasing competence in their work and confidence in themselves. (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 9 June 1972.)

During the period of field work I was able to piece together a definite impression of how the Administrator views his own role in the community. In working with people he consistently tries to delegate responsibility, to encourage band member decision-making and to discourage their dependence on him. He sees himself with a definite skill in band administration which he is trying to pass on to band members associated with the office and the Council. Probably his central goal is to see the Enoch Band Administration function effectively without him. In his view, the fulfillment of this paramount goal requires that he assume many different roles, ranging from the "directive-expert" orientation (observed infrequently) to a "non-directive, encourager" type of action (observed often). The Administrator can also assume the role of the participant change agent as required, and is then responsive to the norms of the group with which he is working.

He does not feel that his history and reputation as one who will not go with the system if there is good reason to try and change it, has

harmed the chances for his future career. Different job offers by individuals and groups who are aware of his beliefs and approach (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 21 June 1972) indicate that both white and Indian recognize the highly desirable qualities in him, and want him involved with their organizations.

One short statement of the Administrator's sums up most of these preceding sections: "It's no go as far as I'm concerned, until the Band is pushing for it." (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 26 June 1972).

His Perceptions of Community Development

A good deal of the Administrator's experience with formal community development and some of its practitioners occurred when he was employed by the Indian Affairs Branch. This position would have almost automatically placed him at logger heads with the different community development workers who claimed to be helping the Indians break the total "put-down" system in which they were caught by Indian Affairs. Some of the community development officers stereotyped the Administrator as being in opposition to them, so it is not surprising that some of his recollections are not complimentary to Community Development.

> . . . The trouble with them is they slit their own throats by their extremism. They tell the Indians, "You boys are getting screwed by those guys from Indian Affairs, they're all out to get you." . . . and the Indians know different from their own experience (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 13 June 1972).

But the Administrator did not generalize this negative view: of other community development officiers he said, "Now you're talking about a

different breed of men . . . [They have done] a tremendous amount of good." (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 13 June 1972.)

The following extract from my field notes sheds further light on this perception.

> . . . He asked me what I thought about the type of community development that stirs up people with no follow-through. This is the way he regards many of the c.d.o.'s that he has met. "There's another way. It takes longer, but it's less apt to fall flat." (By this he means his approach to his work, the newer ideas in IAB, the band training short courses and conferences.) (Field Notes, 10 August 1972.)

EVALUATION

Introduction

This section attempts to counteract some of the biases probably inherent in the first part of this chapter, which was based on personal communication with the Administrator and on observations made during the period of field work. The brief interview schedule was constructed with this aim in mind: it was assumed that the band members were the logical ones to approach since it was their community which was concerned. (The format of the interview appears in Appendix I, and the selection of the sample has been discussed in some detail in Chapter I.) The number of interviews which were completed was severely restricted however, due to a combination of community dynamics and the particular time which had been allotted for the interviewing. When I had little more than begun the interviews, a widespread movement appeared in the community which banished all semblance of normality from the everyday life of the people. I was not able to obtain exact information as to the causes: rumours were rampant and what seemed most clear to me

was that my interview schedule was highly superfluous and irrelevant. From what I could gather, the essence of the trouble was this: certain individuals felt extreme disapproval of some alleged actions of the chief and some of the councillors, and were circulating a petition in the community, gaining the support of many residents. They demanded that outside auditors be called in to go over the accounts. Although the auditors apparently found nothing wrong, still a fraction of the people were not satisfied, and another group of auditors were to be called. At the time of this writing (October 1972), this matter was very much undecided. In the meantime, my friendship/field relationship with the people, no longer strengthened by my presence there, had reached the point where I felt that I should not be asking questions. The people were most friendly and courteous but an understandable reserve, not present in August, was obvious. Thus, in retrospect, it seems that August would have been the time for the interviews, but then I was heavily involved with the children, and was anticipating going to the people when I was free of these duties.

In mid-November I was hired by the band for a two month period to do research regarding three early land surrenders, with the aim of helping to build a case to go to the Indian Claims Commission in Ottawa. My "field relationship" became unimportant as I was no longer trying to make detached and objective observations in the community, or to interview individuals for my own research. In several cases acquaintances or "informants" became simply friends. This process occurred naturally as soon as I stopped trying to consciously analyze interaction and its implications.

The information, received from the interviews which were carried out, did tend to support the view that the Administrator was considered as a positive, non-authoritarian and necessary influence in the community. Three of the interviewees were in their twenties, two female and one male. None of these were closely involved with the Band office or business matters; although they were village residents, it is submitted that they spoke for the average band member, farm or village, who was outside the formal power structure. The fourth interviewee was male, thirty-five, with experience living away from the reserve. While he too seemed to speak for the band members, he did have contact with the office and the formal leadership structure (one of his brothers is a councillor). The fifth interviewee was a female in her forties, and recognized by several as an influential person: she too seemed to have contact with most of the people in the community.

Obviously, I was unable to gather opinions from a cross-section of the community on a systematic basis. However, the views which were obtained have been outlined because it has been assumed that they hold value as individual statements. Over the summer on a more casual basis, feelings about the Administrator were expressed to me from time to time; these have been included in the evaluation by band members. A further group whose opinions have been considered relevant are different individuals who have worked with the Administrator in varying roles and contexts. Their views comprise the final section of this chapter.

The Views of Band Members

The first interviewee (female, 23) felt that the Administrator had assisted the Band most "with the park and the office" when compared with the oil developments and the building of the arena. She distinguished him from some Indian Affairs employees who "look down on people; he doesn't and he's ready to learn from the people, while some of the others aren't." She thought that somebody would do his job (if he had to leave suddenly) but she didn't know whether it would be someone from the office or someone from Indian Affairs. The second interviewee (male, 23) replied in a similar manner, and explained that the Administrator was "more involved with our people" than Indian Affairs staff members. The third interviewee (female, 23) said that the Administrator has "helped slow down the spending. . . somebody has to say no. The councillors are doing better now too." She also thought that "somebody has to do that job," but wasn't sure if a band member or someone at the office could carry it out if the Administrator had to leave.

The fourth interviewee (male, 35) placed a lower priority on the presence of the Administrator. He did not discredit his contribution, but pointed for example to the vegetable project (begun in 1965) as having occurred before the Administrator was involved with Stony Plain. This person said that the people were really doing most of the managing themselves and mentioned one band member (then a councillor and since deceased) who had been the chief promoter of the vegetable project. He said that the Administrator definitely helped, but he would place

the peoples' ideas first. Of the difference between some Indian Affairs staff members and the Administrator, this interviewee said: "I can talk to him easy--he says 'Hi, how are you'-- the others seem kind of like big shots, and I get a little scared to speak out when they're around. Him, he's not like that." The respondent also thought

> . . . somebody would do his job, it's very important to manage that money; a band member might, but he's need education and he'd have to be able to say no. It's important to say no in that job, and it's a hard thing to do. It's harder for a band member because he's related to so many people.

The fifth interviewee (female, late 40's) felt that the Administrator had "worked hard and honestly to curtail the spending: somebody has to put the brakes on these guys." She suggested that he had changed somewhat since he had come to work for the Band: "He seems more flexible, he has lost some of those Indian Affairs' attitudes." She said that someone would have to do his job (should he leave suddenly) but it would have to be someone with "some business administration training. That's a pretty complicated job, you've got Band capital and revenue which have to be kept separate. I think he's been pretty frustrated in some of his attempts too."

Thoughts about the Administrator which were expressed over the summer tended to parallel the foregoing responses. The following examples illustrate this.

> . . . The people are realizing what they can do. (He) is good this way. He makes no decisions, the Council does. (Personal communication, female band member of 23, 9 May 1972.)

> . . . He seems to be well accepted and liked. He was hired to help train office staff to be more efficient, to show them how to run projects and programs . . . things have happened since he came that wouldn't have otherwise (Personal communication, male band member of 40, 13 July 1972).

At the official opening of the new band office on the 8 September 1972, the chief publicly expressed the Band's recognition and appreciation of the contribution of "our Administrator".

The Administrator himself related to me the essence of a discussion of the Council:

> . . . They got talking today about the things which have happened since I came which they feel I have helped with. Little things I hadn't even considered as important, never gave them a second thought. Like the old rodeo grounds were over in the Tomahawk Park, and they had to rebuild them. I pointed out that since the new development would be more of a commerical recreation spot, they might consider changing the location altogether. Now they have them over by the ball diamonds, and all feel that this was a good move. And [a councillor] said, "You've taught us a pretty important thing . . . the importance of a good credit rating." (Personal communication, Band Administrator, 25 July 1972).

The sole statement which I heard which contradicts these generally positive comments was made by a band member who had been criticized for relying too heavily in her work on advice from him. She lashed out at the Councillors, although not in their presence: "They can't run a meeting without him!" (26 July 1972). This indicates a dependence of Council on the Administrator; his efforts to counter this have been discussed.

The Views of Other Individuals

A person involved with the Parkland Regional Recreation Council said:

> . . . All the reserves could use managers, (he) is really making things gel out there. He is carrying on an in-service training program so that when he leaves there will be two or three council members who will be able to manage in his place. (Personal communication, 9 May 1972.)

An employee of National Health and Welfare felt that

> . . . things have happened since he came that wouldn't have without him. . . . But the person selected to take over the tasks of administration needs more than on-the-job training: (they) should have some business courses from N.A.I.T. or something. (Personal communication, 30 May 1972.)

An Indian Affairs official responded to the Administrator's temporary feelings of discouragement and lack of accomplishment:

> . . . You're too close to the forest to see the trees . . . the rest of us can see the progress at Enoch, and your influence there. (Personal communication, 9 June 1972.)

A one-time employee of National Health and Welfare recalled her association with the reserves west of town, and her impressions of the Administrator's reception by the people before he was employed by the Enoch Band.

> . . . I never worked that closely with (him); he was at Glenevis when I was at Duffield and Alexander. I only relieved at Glenevis and Winterburn occasionally. . . . But in comparing him with the other Indian agents, I had the definite feeling that the Indians respected him, much more so than many of the others who were often condescending. He treated them as equals. He was very outspoken, he'd tell them exactly what he thought. He was fair and honest and the Indians knew it. (Personal communication, 12 July 1972.)

An individual who had been associated with the Administrator during the time of the "working for welfare" program spoke of his impressions.

> . . . I didn't have extremely close contact . . . I used to fly in there sometimes and stay at his house. I never questioned any of the people personally but my impression definitely was that he was doing more than the minimum required or expected of an Indian agent. I was involved at the time with native

> handicrafts, . . . and I remember he was most helpful and co-operative. That was around the time of the march, and he ran into a lot of trouble, difficulty and hard feelings then. Of course as far as the C.D. people were concerned he represented the Indian Affairs Department and he remained a negative figure to them. I remember him unloading some of his frustration at the existing regulations (against the working-for-welfare program)--he was stretching them as far as he could. The people were in favour of it. They don't want welfare. As soon as they were working they regarded themselves as self-reliant, and the same money lost its stigma and was viewed positively, as earned wages. (Personal communication, 21 July 1972.)

Another person who remembered the Administrator at this time had not had close working contact with him, but supported the above quotation. He emphasized the frustration which the Administrator had experienced because of his more creative, less traditional and care-taking approach to his work. (Personal communication, 29 September 1972.)

Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

OBJECTIVES

Objective One: To gain understanding of the dynamics of the community.

The Stony Plain Reserve community was defined for this study with the words of Paul Furfey (1953:346).

> . . . A community may be defined as a geographically delimited unit within the larger society, small enough to permit a considerable degree of cultural homogeneity and a considerable amount of face-to-face interaction among its members, yet large enough to contain all the major social institutions necessary for normal life.

Chapters Three and Four contain the background and community analysis derived from the field notes. The following remarks, elaborating upon the definition in terms of some of the findings, indicate that at least a basic understanding of the community was acquired.

The Stony Plain Reserve community is "geographically delimited" by the boundaries of the reserve (see Figure 1). It is situated in Township 52, Range 26 west of the fourth meridian and its area is twenty square miles. During the period of field work a degree of "cultural homogeneity" became apparent, especially in the religious and recreational attitudes of the people, and in their values and general life style. All band members appeared to possess a unique blending of old and new culture traits; this synthesis was interpreted to be their

common culture. Individual class differences produced some variety, but over all, the people seemed to be more similar to each other than to non-reserve residents. The intricate kinship relationships tended to reinforce the ties between band members. The distribution of oil royalties on a per capita basis has minimized the wide gaps between the incomes of different families which is reportedly common on some other reserves, and certainly in non-reserve society. The reserve is of a predominantly Roman Catholic religious orientation; religion is not a divisive factor here as it is on some reserves (for instance, Saddle Lake).

The concerted action of the community in some situations (for instance, the attempted reduction of the kindergarten program by the Indian Affairs Branch, the building of the new rodeo grounds, or the death of a band member) reinforced the conclusion that the people feel strong cultural bonds, or that they feel a strong sense of community (in the moral or spiritual sense mentioned by Poplin:1972).

Innumerable instances of "face-to-face-interaction" on several levels of intensity were observed. Almost all were of the "primary" nature of sociological analysis. The opposite type of interaction is called "secondary": the people experienced this more impersonal interaction in their dealings with non-reserve residents; for instance, while shopping in Edmonton.

All of the "major social institutions necessary for human life" appeared to be present in the Stony Plain Reserve community. Social scientists attribute different functions and priorities to these

institutions but generally agree about what they are. The major social institutions include the family, education, religion, recreation, economics or business, medicine, law and government. All of these institutions, or elements of them, were identified on the reserve: they have been considered in some depth in the community analysis of Chapter Four.

Major findings about the community.-- Until the discovery of oil in 1950 the reserve was fairly poor and was isolated from the surrounding society. The discovery of oil has resulted in many changes in material goods possessed, in income and in physical isolation from the "outside". These physical changes have forced a rapid transition of the non-material aspects of the community (for instance, general patterns of living and working, attitudes toward religion, material consumption and education).

The Band administration is trying to maximize total resource development. This is no easy job: mistakes have been made; learning from experience continues. The Band has hired an individual from IAB staff to act as Band Administrator for a two year period, to assist the office staff and the Council in developing personal and group skills in administration.

Some information was gathered about the community residents not closely involved with the office. General characteristics observed included lower incidences of unemployment and permanent welfare than are present on some other reserves (for example, Saddle Lake). Many

reports indicated that problems of excessive drinking and solvent sniffing were decreasing from 1965 (the time of previous research carried out with the Enoch Band). The high school drop-out rate had not changed noticeably since that time, but an excellent playschool and kindergarten program, now in operation for seven years, has eased the transition of band children into the city school system.

One of the central changes in recent years has been the increasing assumption of responsibility by the Band and a corresponding decrease in the power (both actual and ascribed by the people) of the Indian Affairs Branch. This can be illustrated in many ways. For example:

1. The presence of an IAB staff member is no longer required at all Council meetings.
2. When IAB tried to reduce the kindergarten program, the Band's organized reaction prevented this from occurring.
3. Approval from Ottawa now involves a "rubber-stamping" process; on very few occasions will Ottawa veto a proposal made by a Band.

It is therefore concluded that the Stony Plain Reserve Community fits the definition selected for use here, and that some progress has been made towards gaining an understanding of the community, the first objective.

Objective Two: To determine the effect the administrator has had on the total resource development on the Stony Plain Reserve.

In Chapter One, development was defined as "a special type of growth and thus of change, in which there is not only a quantitative, but also a qualitative and positive difference in the objective over

time, occurring usually through a process and possessing both purpose and direction" (Connor:1966:10). Resources were considered as "factors of economic and social production and utility", and the three kinds, natural, human and man-made, were distinguished from each other (Niederfrank and Jahns:1966:52). In essence we are looking at approaches to the management of the resources of the Stony Plain Reserve Community, and at how these processes have been influenced by the presence and actions of the band administrator. To summarize the research findings in relation to this objective, the inventory of the resources of the community from Chapters Three and Four has been used as a framework: the information has been arranged in Table 4.

The summary in Table 4 is not an attempt to account for all resource development in the Stony Plain Reserve Community, but rather presents a general picture of the resource about which I became aware during the period of research. It is apparent from the table that the Administrator's influence on community resource development has varied with the resource. In the development of some types of resources (agriculture, housing, the kindergarten program) I could identify few traces of the influence of the Administrator. In other types of resource development (the format of the Council meetings, the functionalized Council, the improved organization of the office staff, the Taxation By-Law) it appeared that the Administrator was directly responsible for the introduction and continued operation of these innovations. It is logical to assume that he filled the role of "expert" in introducing and encouraging these developments. It should also be noted that all of these areas involve the increasing

Table 4

Major Findings About Resource Development

RESOURCE	RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT FROM	TO	INFLUENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
		Natural Resources	
Soil capability for agriculture; overall potential good.	Little utilization by band members. 1965: 9,000 acres under cultivation, much of it by white farmers.	1972: 34,000 acres of band land under cultivation, almost all by the Band's farm operation.	Not obvious, but his encouragement of Band management was clear. He made no decisions in this area, but consistently referred to those in charge of the farm operation when questioned about it.
Land capability for recreation: excellent potential in sandy land along east side.	1965: Development Firm lease 680 acres for Tomahawk Park: Government 710 acres for rifle range. Remainder non-utilized.	1972: This land and more totalling 2,000 acres, under band control and slated for commercial recreation development.	Actively encouraged Council's pursuit of this development, the retaining of the consultant firm, the referendum, etc.
Oil and Gas. Extensive.	1951: 14 producing oil wells. Band members held oil rights and collected $12/person per day.	1972: Band members collect $20/person/month.	Not obvious. He encouraged Council to look at alternative sources of revenue since the oil and gas is non-renewable. Actively encouaged Council's passing of the Taxation Bylaw.

Table 4 (continued)

RESOURCE	RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT FROM	TO	INFLUENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
		Man-Made Resources	
Housing.	In pre-oil days most band members lived in shacks or cabins without plumbing or electricity.	Most of the 60 houses now on the reserve have been built since 1954. Most are equipped with plumbing and electricity.	Not obvious. Council makes decisions on applications for new houses.
Band Office	1967: Centennial Project completed: band office met the needs of the Enoch Band Administration for only a few years. Empty in summer of 1972, scheduled for use as a library or for indoor recreation.	1972: Large administration building completed, with facilities for office staff and for band constable and for Health Nurse. Financed primarily by band funds, assisted by the Dept. Manpower and Immigration's Local Initiative Program.	Actively encouraged this project.
Arena.	Until 1970: a small, fenced, outdoor skating rink.	November 1971: half million dollar artificial ice complex financed by Band funds, opened.	Influence strong. Actively encouraged this project.
"Little School"	1947: housed all band students.	1965-1972: used for playschool and kindergarten for band children of 4-6	Influence not obvious, but has supported the continuation of the program.

Table 4 (continued)

RESOURCE	RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT FROM	TO	INFLUENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
	Human Resources		
Council Meetings Control	Until the late 60's, resident farm supervisor chaired the meetings, recorded minutes, had them typed at District IAB Office.	1969: Councillors increasingly ran their own meetings; by 1972 they rotated the chairmanship; minutes were recorded & typed by office staff.	Strong influence: he refused to chair meetings; councillors assumed this role.
Functionalized Council	Resident IAB employee attended to band business.	1972: each councillor responsible for one area of band business (recreation, cattle operation, public works, administration); the chief & administrator assist where necessary.	Strong influence: it was through his suggestion and encouragement that this system was adopted.
Office Staff	Two secretaries	1972: the secretaries became office manager and office clerk and another secretary was hired. All are band members.	Strong influence: suggested and actively encouraged this system.
Farm Management Course	No adult education on the reserve	1972: course sponsored jointly by the federal departments of Manpower & IAND; attended by two dozen adult male band members; well received with strong demand for continuation.	Initiative for this course came from Council. The Administrator encouraged its establishment and operation, and the hiring of an excellent instructor.

responsibility, competency and power of band members. None serve to keep the Administrator "in the limelight", but indicate that he is trying to pass on his administrative skill to band members and to delegate responsibility to them.

In the other types of resource development included in the table (land capability for recreation, the building of the band office and the arena, and the farm management course), the Administrator's influence was noted, but was more indirect than in the foregoing group. It seemed that in these cases he was assisting and encouraging processes which were already in motion, which would probably have occurred without his presence but would have been more difficult and would have taken a much longer period of time to achieve without him.

Objective Three: To identify the change agent roles used by the Administrator.

The meaning of change agent in the context of this thesis is "any agent used by a client system to help bring about improved performances" (Bennis et al:1969:157). The Administrator fits this definition. It seems pointless to try to categorize him as being a community developer, a community organizer or a social animator, but this thesis contends that he is using the theory of these approaches to the planning of community change as a foundation for his work. His general goals are those of motivating people toward genuine involvement in the matters which concern them, of setting the democratic process in action, and of developing decision-making power in the people.

The Administrator should not be narrowly defined as using only the roles available to one kind of community change agent. He uses a wide variety of these roles as the situation requires. For example, the following discussion shows how he can be seen in some instances as a participant change agent which combines three distinct roles.

> Expert: The Band Administrator is an expert in the area of managing accounts, office staff efficiency, and the general business affairs of the band, and in passing on his ability to band members. More subtley, he is expert in relating to the people on human terms. He approaches them informally and as an equal, always conscious that he is dealing with individuals.
>
> Leader: Because he exemplifies the type of business and decision-making ability which he is trying to encourage in the people, the Band Administrator can be viewed as a leader. The fact that he teaches, although informally, the office staff to operate efficiently and to specialize duties, further supports this assertion.
>
> Member: Although not an official member of the band, it is submitted that the Administrator is a member of the office staff and is closely associated with Council and the band in general. Because he voluntarily participates in the on-going change he is assisting, he gains in group identity and is subjected to some of the normative controls of the Band. Because he is paid by the Band, this situation does not result in the conflict which might arise if he were working for an outside agency.

It is Saram's thesis that it is the blending of these three roles which provides a higher success rate for the participant change agent in the community. There is considerable overlap and even duplication between these roles and the descriptions offered by other authors, such as the Biddles (encourager) and Ross (guide-enabler-expert-therapist).

The figure on the next page is an attempt to illustrate the close relationship between these different roles of the change agent.

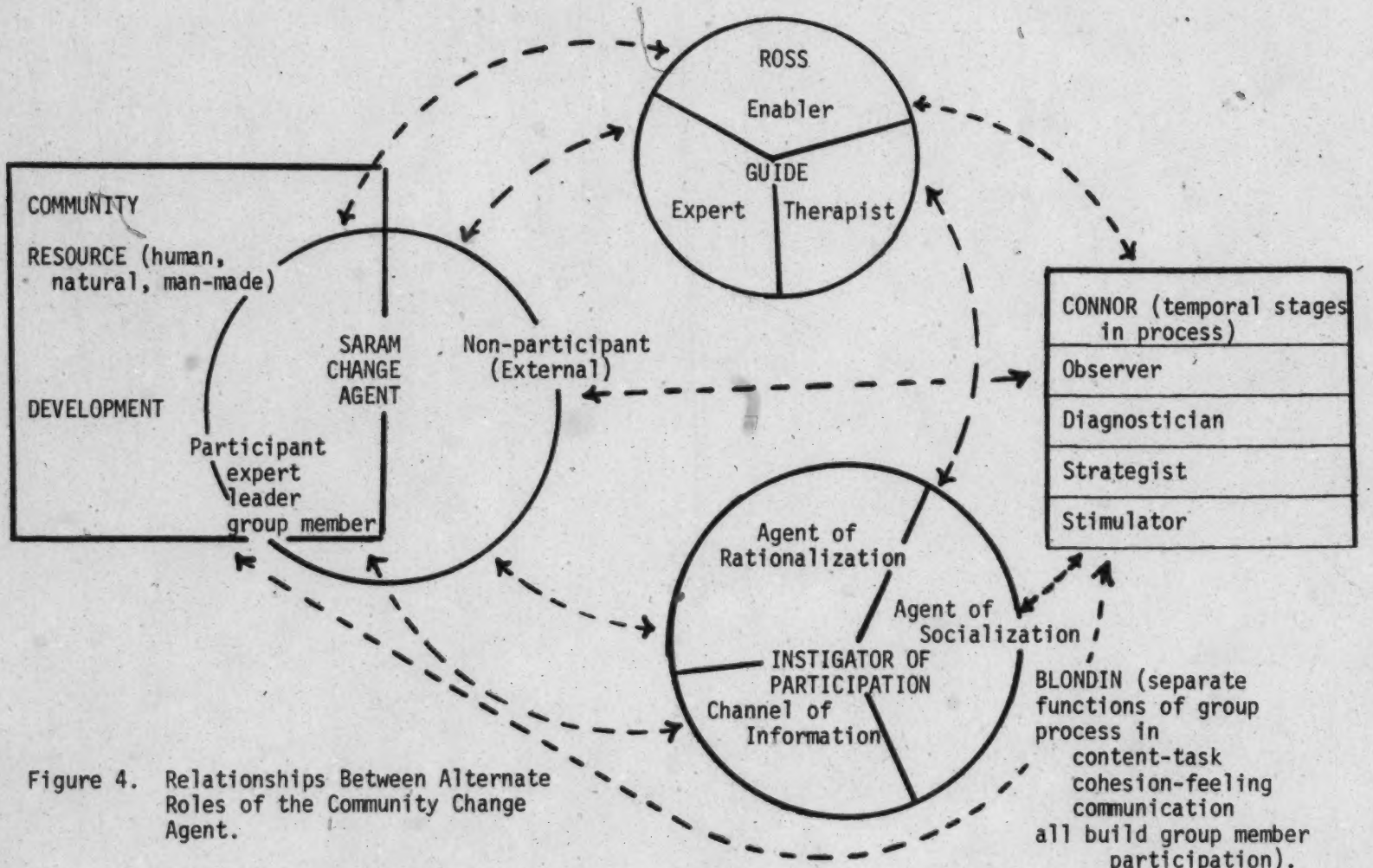


Figure 4. Relationships Between Alternate Roles of the Community Change Agent.

It is contended that the Administrator uses these various roles, switching from one to another as the work situation requires. He may or may not be consciously aware that he is doing so. On page 110 I have cited instances when the Administrator acted as expert, leader and group member (the three combined roles of the participant change agent in Saram's analysis). When acting in this role-blend, the Administrator is subjected to and is responsive to, the norms of the group with which he is working.

As a participant change agent, the Administrator has acted at different times in the manner of the different "agents" of Blondin's social animation. As agent of rationalization he has assisted the Band Council to maximize its group and individual capacity for problem solving, although he does not use formal group process. He encourages each member to express his views.

As agent of socialization, the Administrator recognizes the need for high group morale and cohesion, and knows how to strengthen this. For instance, he expects that old family disagreements will be ignored as Council works on various problems, and his manner seems to assist the men to move past factionalism. Again, the Administrator does not hesitate to praise the individuals or Council as a whole when he sees that such praise is deserved; such positive encouragement could only contribute to the progress of Council.

As a "channel of information" the Administrator helps to create awareness of different issues at Council meetings. For example, he drew Council's attention to the change in provincial legislation which has

exempted the resident oil companies from municipal taxation. The end result was that Council passed a Bylaw making Stony Plain the first reserve in Canada to tax resident oil companies.

Blondin's paramount role, "instigator of participation", is basically another way of describing the role of the Administrator in the community. This role encompasses all of the others: each of the other roles can be seen also as "instigating participation". The most obvious examples of increased participation of band members are the efficiency of the office staff, the functionalized Council and the format of the Council meetings.

Connor sees the roles of a community change agent as four successive stages in a process which repeats continually: observation, diagnosis, planning strategies, and stimulation. As a new cycle of the process begins at the "observer phase", the change agent watches for the effect of his previous action, and takes it into account in his new diagnosis. It appeared that the Administrator used this process when acting as a participant change agent and also as a social animator. Connor's final phase, "stimulator", surely has the same meaning as Blondin's "instigator of participation".

Again, Ross's main role of guide, complemented and/or achieved by expert-enabler-, or therapist orientations, can be seen as simply another set of terms for essentially the same process.

The diagram shows the flexibility and overlapping of these different roles, which all contribute to the central goal of community resource development, including the human, natural and man-made resources in the community.

It is therefore concluded that, while the Administrator does not see himself as a change agent, and this is not his job description, yet he uses skillfully and with positive effect these various roles as the occasion demands. Therefore, for the purpose of this study he can be considered as a change agent, possessing the ability to act on different levels and with different approaches, in the interest of bringing about community change.

Objective Four: To see if band members have become dependent on the Administrator.

Probably the time best suited to exploring this aspect would be after the Administrator has withdrawn from the community, which will be in March or April of 1973. I did overhear a remark (quoted in Chapter Five) which implied that Council "couldn't run a meeting without him", but in view of the defensive and angry frame of mind of the band member who made this statement, it seems advisable not to attach too great significance to this alone. The Administrator's awareness of this distinct possibility and his attempts to counteract it have been discussed (his absences for periods of a few days at a time to assist the Band Training Short Courses on other reserves).

Whether or not band members see themselves as being dependent on the Administrator is related to the problem of determining band members' opinions of him. The difficulties encountered in completing the interview schedule have been discussed in the latter part of Chapter Five; the content of the completed interviews has been summarized there. All respondents felt that the job done by the Administrator

was important and would have to be done by someone. They were unsure whether a band member could do this work or not, and all implied or directly stated that the job would be difficult for a band member (because he would be related to so many, because of the education required to do the job, because of the complexity of the job and "because it's hard to say no and you have to, in that job!").

Whether or not these responses constitute evidence of the dependence of band members on the Administrator is difficult to say: this objective would have been better studied in a year's time, after the Administrator's withdrawal from the community.

Objective Five: To determine whether or not the people of the Enoch Band are acquiring more autonomy in making decisions and in managing their own affairs.

Many indications that the Enoch Band is in fact moving in this direction became evident during the period of field work. Examples already discussed in some detail include the attempted reduction of the kindergarten program by Indian Affairs, and the manner in which Council meetings are conducted, often with no Indian Affairs staff present and with the Administrator taking a secondary role in the discussion.

Over the summer different band members told me of the changing relationship between the people and the Indian Affairs Branch. Many stated views to this effect: "The people can do it themselves now. Indian Affairs can't boss us around anymore, and get away with it." From these comments and from my own observations, it is logical to

conclude that Encoh Band members are citizens participating in the handling of their own affairs. They are in the transitional period between Indian Affairs' administration and local autonomy. It is through this transition that the Administrator is assisting them with marked and unique success.

These last two objectives can also be combined and viewed as opposite ends of a continuum ranging from dependency on the IAB, through dependency on the Administrator, to autonomy. The community can be visualized as moving across this continuum towards autonomy.

One further aspect pertains to the Administrator's comparative lack of contact with those band members who are not closely involved with the office and the formal leadership positions. The literature on community change emphasizes the work of the change agent with the nucleus (Biddle and Biddle:1965) or the citizen action group (Blondin: 1968). The Administrator's nucleus or citizens' action group is the Band Council; it is Council's responsibility to contact and involve remaining band members in the process of and benefits from community change and resource development.

CONCLUSIONS

From reading the literature and from observing the Enoch Band and its Administrator, I have reached certain conclusions about the community change agent.

The four authors (Saram, Blondin, Ross and Connor) who write of the community change agent and the roles available to him or her

use different labels but all describe essentially the same process: involvement with a group of people in which the central goal is to develop the problem-solving capability of the individuals and of the group as a whole, to the point where the change agent is no longer needed in maximizing the three types of resource development.

Awareness of these various theories of community change is not necessarily required for an individual to be effective in the realization of this goal (maximizing a group's problem-solving ability and increasing total resource development). This is extremely obvious in the case of the Enoch Band Administrator: this is basically his goal, and he uses the different roles as they are required to reach this end, without ever having studied them as such, or even necessarily naming them. He simply responds to a situation or group of people naturally, with these alternatives in the back of his mind. He knows when he should act as "expert", "encourager", "agent of socialization" or "participant", and he has the flexibility and skill to act accordingly.

The example of the Administrator indicates that attitudes towards people are important, if not central, factors in "what makes an effective change agent". The individual's attitudes find expression in his interaction with others. For instance, the Administrator has a strong belief in the equality of mankind, and he approaches all people as an equal, without the condescension which has characterized much of the people's previous interaction with non-native society in general and the IAB in particular. The Administrator respects each individual as a human being, and accepts him for what he is and is not. But at

the same time he believes in the maximum possible development of each individual and of the band as a whole, and is committed to the encouragement of the development of this potential.

These basic attitudes find expression in the Administrator's interaction with community members. He is honest; his honesty is recognized and appreciated. He gives praise and he gives criticism when he sees that they are deserved. That is, the Administrator is not always a "good guy" . . . he will openly differ with individuals if conflicts arise. The intensity of his interaction with the people around the office would make administrative efficiency very difficult if he was not able to handle such differences. Normally, he is easy-going and relaxed at his work; the atmosphere is one well spiced with humour, the natural manner of the routine interaction in the community.

Studying the work of the Enoch Band Administrator has led me to reassess the importance I had previously attached to an academic/theoretical framework in the work of the community change agent. The Administrator has never taken courses in working with people or in encouraging positive community change; but the fact that he is successfully doing exactly these things emerged clearly during the period of research.

Attitudes and goals which are natural to a potential change agent have dominant influence in his success. Almost certainly, attitudes and goals would be complemented by experience in working with people and by theoretical training. That is, if several community change agents could be evaluated systematically, it seems logical to hypothesize that the most successful would possess not only these basic

attitudes and goals, but also experience and a sophisticated theoretical framework. But in the absence of such research, I can only point ot the example of the Enoch Band Administrator, and emphasize that his effectiveness has not stemmed from advanced education in the social sciences! It appears to be directly related to his basic attitudes and world view, and has no doubt been complemented by his years of experience.

RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON FINDINGS

The conclusion that the presence of the Administrator is one of the factors which has positively affected the resource development in the Stony Plain Reserve Community would have important implications, if the information here could be communicated to other reserves. Studying the experience at Enoch could well ease the process by which other communities move toward their own total resource development. It is recommended that the Indian Affairs Branch and the various native organizations consider some of the solutions which Enoch has worked out, as beneficial examples, and that inter-reserve communication between band councils regarding common problems be encouraged. The frictions sometimes experienced between "have and have not" reserves could be minimized with greater communication and this emphasis on common problems. Specifically, the concept of having more bands employ individuals with training and ability in administration (and in passing on this skill to ease the transition to greater reserve autonomy) deserves key attention.

It is recommended also that those interested in the field of the change agent (for instance, those in programs in Community Develop-

ment) closely examine the approach of the Enoch Band Administrator for a valuable lesson in philosophy and techniques successful in community work.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

1. Follow-up research at Enoch when the present Administrator's contract has terminated, with the aim of extending and enriching the data upon which this thesis is based.

2. Studies of other reserves, with the aim of identifying the factors of contributing toward and prohibiting the total resource development. The community self-survey method could be utilized in parts of this research.

3. Though research into the structures of the Indian Affairs Branch and its changing trends in policy. The main objectives would involve the illumination of certain stereotypes and the improvement of the effectiveness of the Branch. This could point to a de-escalation in its proportions as native people across Canada move toward greater autonomy.

4. More examination of the roles of the change agent with the idea of clarifying the prescription of a particular role to a situation: that is, more research into the personalities involved, and, importantly, the ways of preventing communities or client systems from becoming excessively dependent on change agents working with them.

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APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How many years have they been holding elections for chief here?

2. Have you ever lived away from this reserve?

3. Do you like living here at Winterburn? Are there things happening here that aren't happening on other reserves? Can you say what?

4. What do you think about the development here, like the oil, the park, the arena, the office? Are they good, bad, is there anything special about them?

5. I have heard that Mr. ____ has helped with some of these developments. Would you agree or disagree with that? Is Mr. ____ different from some Indian Affairs people you know? If he had to leave tomorrow, who would do his job? Would anyone? Is there a band member who could do this job?

6. Have you seen any changes in Indian Affairs over the years? If so, what are they?

7. Do you see changes in the people here? If so, what are they?

8. Do you think there will be the same or a different chief and council after the elections next June? (Not asked of present local government authorities.)

APPENDIX II

SELECTIONS FROM FIELD NOTES

The following direct quotations from my field notes have been included to give the reader an idea of the kind of data which forms the basis for this thesis. Some of the selections are a narrative of my perceived "progress in participant observation"; some involve bits of factual information related to me by different community members; still others represent word for word personal communication with key informants, and deal more with feelings, norms and values. This appendix is representative of the one hundred and ten pages of notes which I had recorded by the end of the summer except for a segment which seems to personal to set down here. I have tried to give an accurate and in-depth picture of the community without violating the trust and confidence given to me.

> 3 May -- ____ had okayed my presence there this summer with the Band Council, by the time I got out there. He talked with me for awhile, explaining about some of (the Service Corps worker's) frustration, about how the Indians view time and work differently from whites, about some of the different activities which she carried out with the young people.
>
> 5 May -- Drove out in the rain for some of this coffee. It was Treaty Day, the band office was packed. I talked with (a secretary) for a few minutes; said I'd phone next time; asked her about the Service Corps girl of last summer. She mentioned camping "over at the park".

8 May -- ____ has no delusions of "saving" this reserve -- they are doing it themselves. Says the band manager and (a councillor) would be the ones to see about use and development of resources, also the chief. Almost everyone has a vehicle or easy access to one, hence no need (or little) for the taxis of Banta's mention, 1966. The oil wells are expected to play out around 1984 and the band is looking to alternate sources of revenue, i.e., the 2000 acres slotted for development as a park and country residences.

-- Indian Affairs runs the kindergarten; four year olds come in the morning, five and six year olds in the afternoon. The teacher explained how the children need extra help since they go straight into public education in grade one. She spoke highly of the chief, of how the parents are helpful, of the high degree of co-operation she gets. Last summer's Service Corps girl helped her with art work . . . would I do the same? (I introduced myself by offering to help if I could.)

9 May -- Both the teacher and the janitor told me it would be better not to introduce myself as replacing or duplicating the Service Corps girl . . . "It gives people the wrong impression."

11 May -- The Administrator said it was more or less expected that I attend at least some of the council meetings as an observer.

19 May -- Drove out with the driver and the teacher again. The The driver re raising kids: she doesn't go for inconsistent yelling at and coddling or babying kids. You should talk to and explain things to your children, so they know why . . . they really want to know why all the time. Little guys need individual attention and security.

-- Stopped at the Band Office with the teacher to see if the secretary had prepared the letters for the parents re permission for field trip. Four men were on the steps, and she introduced me to them.

26 May -- The kids were very enjoyable and not to hard to handle (field trip to the Museum and Storyland Valley Zoo). I got on chatty, easier terms with the other adults who went.

29 May -- Went into the Band office. ____ offered me some coffee, the Administrator offered to drive me out from now on, and a councillor drove me to school with a load of Cree instruction books (supplied by the Separate School Board). The main issue in the air during coffee: early land surrenders of the band, the legality of which is apparently questionable. Quite a hullaballoo, quite a lot of land. They were to have a meeting about it shortly.

30 May -- The nurse has been working at Duffield and Winterburn for three years; she is employed by National Health and Welfare and works out of the Camsell. Her work is mostly with the children and expectant mothers. She doesn't encourage handing out the medicine to the people, rather encourages them to see a doctor in Edmonton. . . . She figures the closeness of the reserve to the city has helped solve some of the "problems" faced by native people, but it has created others which more isolated reserves have not had to cope with yet.

-- Re the kindergarten: she feels that her own children get no better introduction to school in City kindergartens, than do the little ones of the Enoch Band. She says it is amazing to see the difference from the beginning of the first year to the end of the second. The Cree youngsters have to make the transition to Edmonton schools at the age of six, whereas the Stoneys go into Stony Plain at age twelve. (Query: jump seems hard for little ones, but it might be easier in the long run, with less lasting trauma, than at twelve.

-- Re drinking and glue sniffing: The drinking is "quite a problem", she didn't elaborate, except to say that the ones who have jobs and are "steady" aren't the problem drinkers, The solvent sniffing was quite a bad scene about two years ago but seems to be dying out now. She has ordered children taken out of houses where sniffing parties are going on. ____ has the right to apprehend the children if they are being abused or neglected, but they are seldom seized permanently.

-- Re "loss of Indianness": "There's so much white blood mixed up in here that these Indians don't know who they are." Many whites seem more concerned than the Indians about the loss of "culture".

8 June -- ____ was in drinking coffee and shooting the breeze. He was talking about playing bingo, how close he has come to winning big money, how coming so close shouldn't affect a person's nerves, doesn't his, but you can see how nervous and trembling some people get.

-- (A councillor) came in: he is a foreman down at the rodeo grounds. The chief had suggested they buy some chicken for the crew at noon. There was quite a bit of kidding about buying beer instead, and about the number of foremen-supervisors in proportion to the workmen.

-- From different statements, it seems to be that the lighter the skin the more desirable, and the darker the more unfortunate.

12 June -- I was told that the people don't tend toward permanent breakdown of families, but rather toward off-again, on-again, moving-about relationships, with kids here and there sometimes.

13 June -- The District Supervisor mentioned several times that a viable alternative of action would be a District Council; it would help to build communication channels and solidarity between the bands. He was answered with the story of the wide gaps between the reserves, and how Enoch, being "progressive", would be almost certain to give more than it would receive, in such a situation. (These are my words, but I think it was the councillors' meaning.)

-- They discussed the possibility of running the kindergarten, the administration part of it. (A councillor) was cautious, . . . "It sounds simple, doesn't it . . . is there anyone here who can tell us what's actually going on at Bluequills? . . . (Another councillor) was in almost continual frustration: "You guys are moving backwards, you aren't even standing still. At Bluequills they are running high school . . . and this is only a kindergarten."

-- Another "hot potato" was the Indian Act and the Indian Association, which wants the former to remain unchanged. (A councillor) raised the question that the Indian Act contradicts itself all the way through, and that if a band seized upon one section of it as backing in an issue to rationalize action, if they run into trouble, a lawyer can use another section to take the ground out from under them. This had to do with discussion of the ____ report (one of the consultants has researched the early sale of land and has uncovered some "shady" deals which were carried out long ago, one specifically in 1908. This land which was lost then would be invaluable now.)

-- To add to the problem, apparently the accountant consistently makes mistakes in the computer reports; they arrive from Indian Affairs three months in arrears. The Administrator's report is an updating of the most recent "machine report", and indicates a tightening of spending for a couple of months, at which time the income from royalties would have balanced out again.

-- Then the Chief pointed out that "our band has been footing its own bills right along." (A councillor) said that since Winterburn is so close to the city, they would actually need more money to "keep up with the (Joneses) than would a more isolated reserve.

-- I asked specifically how he would describe the control of the IAB exercises now. For example, how did the arena come about? The chief sets up an Order in Council for however much money is required; the statement goes into Ottawa and it's really a mere formality now, for Ottawa to rubber stamp it. (The band revenues are held in trust and drawing interest in Ottawa.) They do have two basic criteria: 1) the degree of socio-economic development envisioned, and 2) the effect the proposal will conceivably have on members. But if the IAB perceived that this money would be purely "wasted", they would almost certainly give the go-ahead anyway.

-- Re a Treaty girl, married into the band, from another reserve: Whether or not she is accepted will depend on her: if she has an education, can hold a job or raise a decent family she will be okay, at least eventually. If she drinks a lot, her kids aren't cared for, she gets a reputation for sleeping around, she will never make it, or it will take her years.

14 June -- The coffee room conversation centered on bingo, the horse races, the latest ball games. I was reading through the (consultant's) report, or trying to (the vocabulary is something else!); (a councillor) showed me in the back on one of the photostats of a document, how the leaders then had to make their mark while someone else wrote the name in.

-- They stressed that the real potential of the reserve lies in the future, and they are thinking in terms of a long range plan, involving up to twenty years; the Regional Planning people endorse the long term approach. Much of the consultants' information had been gathered from the General Plan of the City of Edmonton (published in March of 1972) and from the Regulations for the Preliminary Regional Plan Metropolitan Park. The reserve lands tie in with the City of Edmonton: it is in a position similar to St. Albert and Sherwood Park, in relation to the city, so it could also be a satellite. The possibility of full scale development on the reserve is admitted by the Regional Planning Commission but is considered premature at this time.

-- Re politicians on the Planning Commission. The Regional Plan is law and is binding; most members accept it as such but there are a few mavericks. One touchy area is new developments, as usually each subgroup desires these; a conflict arises between different individual goals and those of the Regional Planning Commission.

-- The Reserve at present does have tremendous recreation potential. There is heavy demand, particularly for day-use by Edmontonians; the Reserve is attractive and has easy access. There is terrific pressure on existing facilities near Edmonton [like Lake Eden, three provincial parks. There are two major types of use, but the vast majority of visitors come for the day. In addition, the reserve is in the position to provide recreation opportunities not available in provincial parks. These could tie in with country residences, etc.].

-- Indian Affairs wants maximum band participation in whatever development should materialize. So they will be looking further into the nature of the activities which could be carried by many of the band members.

15 June -- Asked the Administrator specifically about the law re 'working for welfare': it is a federal-provincial law, enforced by the province, and it is in the Health and Welfare Act.

-- Discussion re rotating herd again: decided to put "Sex and the Single Cow" in bright red above the typewritten list of regulations concerning this program.

21 June -- The Administrator elaborated on his experience at ____. "To me, community development should be saying, 'We're not doing it for them . . . they have to do it themselves'; and that was generally my philosophy. I used to tell them: 'Look, I'm lazy; it's your community, it's your homes that need fixing up. I'm not running a thing, you guys are going to pick your own foremen, you're going to keep your own time and run your own show'".

-- I asked where the material had come from. It was at that time IAB policy to make available such building material as the people might need. The only problem was that there were very strict rules regarding the dispensation of same ("my two predecessors were pretty traditional and clung to the letter"). A man had to put whatever lumber and nails or whatever he got to good use before he could receive more. The quantities doled out were small, the system was not conducive to the people assuming responsibility at all. They did all the work listed previously, they also put in culverts for the Department of Highways, once his ideas got into full swing. They had four or five work crews, and the money they received was considered as wages for work done, not a government dole. The Metis in the community asked repeatedly how they could get such a system working for them. (Their welfare was handed out by workers who flew in for a day twice a month, from ____).

-- He had a group of thirty or so Junior Wardens. One of their main accomplishments was a "clean up campaign; forestry dug them a big trench; they advertised and hauled garbage from the whole community that day. People came "out of the woodwork" with offers of trucks and tractors and labour. People had been dumping over the lake bank; the boys got right down in the water and brought up all the old cans and junk until the bottom was clear. This new norm of using the garbage dump has by and large been adopted by the people even today.

-- He went through the petitioning of the powers that be for the use of the school auditorium for some teen dances. The large building stood empty most of the time. They had quite a time okaying this but eventually the conditions were set down and the kids formed their own band, did their own policing and had a ball every Friday night for one or two winters. There were always adult chaperones there, but they spent most of their time in the school staff room; the kids managed fine. The admission was ten cents, so was the lunch, and the teens gradually built up funds and bought their own record player and records. "The dances continued after I left, but they moved to the new community halls which had been built on welfare wages, and because they were community halls they did run into some pretty hefty problems when many adults, often under the influence, came too."

-- A band member mentioned how the bars in the small towns are "boring, nothing but farmers' which set me back a bit. The rodeo at St. Albert was rained out last weekend.

22 June -- The school had been used for grades one and two for awhile, then was closed. When the teacher applied for the job, she came out to look around. The place had been vandalized [the previous teacher hadn't been popular]. It was quite a mess, and the teacher was not exactly favourably impressed. But the supervisor persuaded her to try the job for a month, for three months and so on, until finally she came to love her job, and especially the children. So that kindergarten is solely hers; it would be interesting to see if the ones she has started stick with high school and/or further training any better, simply because they've had such a good start.

-- We played with the rhythm band which I unearthed from the depths of one cupboard. I played the guitar and tried to carry the tune, and the kids were just naturals. . . . They just got into the rhythm fantastically, [enough to make you high to watch the sheer pleasure in their faces!]. The poor teacher said that this was really a very miserable day for her, to know she won't see these kids, only once in awhile

again. "But I just keep busy and yell a little louder and I get by. But it almost got to me when they were singing with you".

23 June -- re the potato project: "We're getting back reports of having up to 21% culls (which are sold anyway, to institutions etc.). There was no way we could be having that percentage of culls. Those women on those conveyor belts know potatoes. After I went there and asked them what was going on, the rate dropped to 4%, and hasn't been much more than 6% since. You see, people will take advantage of other people, and especially of Indians, if they think they can get away with it. But they often don't have a leg to stand on if you take them to task.

-- I asked her if she ran into prejudice from bouncers. . . . She said not particularly, some are nice and some are miserable but the latter are miserable to everybody. But then she listed off the top of her head, four instances of [another] band member's being killed, and of the light sentences [if there were any at all] which resulted. "The police don't seem to care or worry about carrying it very far, if it's an Indian that's dead." Two were kicked out of _____ bar and killed in the fall down the long steps; one girl was diagnosed as "hit and run" victim; her body had been systematically lacerated with a fine blade like a razor [the informant dressed the body]; and her sister, who they knew had been poisoned was written off as a voluntary overdose of something. Her mother simply wouldn't let it rest; she kept after the mounties and others until the guilty men were tried, and one got thirty days, the other a six month suspended sentence.

-- A band member said that the Indian Association is generally not too popular. The leaders are viewed as lining their own pockets, and of being out of touch with the reserve Indians [he doesn't think this is jealousy only, but is based mainly on the personalities of the leaders in question].

-- One reserve sold out. The entire band enfranchised, sold their land [those who wanted to stay and farm bought land or kept it]. Many moved to the city. The Indian Association did "follow-up research" on these band members, hoping to prove that their action had been foolish and thinking in terms of the immediate future only. They found that the vast majority of these people had jobs, were not on welfare, were happy. The results of the study have not been widely publicized.

26 June -- His purpose had been to try and demonstrate to Ottawa the tremendous need for recreation . . . "all these people have for recreation is drinking and sex, and I'm not kidding". . . . Anyway he took a band list which was five or six years old and went over it with a band member who was "in the know". Out of 21 deaths during the period, only two were from old age or incurable disease (most died in traffice accidents or were run over on the railroad tracks). [I should try and do something similar at Enoch, check if Statistics Canada would have some rates with which to compare.]

-- Two older men sat around drinking coffee and talking in Cree in the office. It's the first time I've heard it spoken out here. It stands to reason that the older people would use it; but both are very fluent in English too. Several sat around working on the coffee. There was much kidding, particularly of _____ [I can't decide if he is really disliked, or if people just get a bang out of teasing him]. One older man suddenly got quite confidential and was telling me how he was on his way to the Indian Association Annual meeting up at Saddle Lake. Apparently one year the meeting was at Hobbema, very cold, and they had to sleep in tents with no blankets. "Damn near froze!" He figures that _____ _____ will go in as president. He was telling me that he had run into "Harold" at Camsell recently and was asking him if he would be going back as president. He replied that he would when he finished his schooling.

27 June -- asked what the set up was re someone from Regional or District office attending the meetings . . . for awhile after they stopped the resident agent system, this was required. But now the council resents "constant surveillance", they don't need it. It would be fine if _____ sort of dropped in and out quietly of the odd meeting, but he doesn't seem to see it this way. _____, the last resident agent Enoch had, used to chair all the meetings, take the minutes and have them typed up in district office.

-- Discussions of possibility of changing the elective system. There was some dissatisfaction with the present system [two-year basis]. A councillor said, "I figure it's taken me all this year to get organized, to learn my job." And in another year he could be out again. Mentioned the chief of the Slaveys on Hay River, who has been chief for thirty-five years. They are still on the hereditary system of chief and council. One possibility here is to have a four year term of office but hold elections every two years and stagger the elections. This way there would never be a whole new chief and council to break in, but always two or three who knew the ropes.

29 June -- a band member got wound up about "the good old days", in this case the thirties when he was young and after he was just married. How you never saw a woman smoking then, how there was very little drinking compared with today, how they made their own music and danced all night quite regularly. The recreation then was "a lot more fun". Everybody rode or drove in with horses. He sold a steer and a hog once for $9.00 [fattened for market!]. He had an all day drive in and out of town. But a big plug of chewing tobacco (bigger than you could get today for fifty cents, then sold for less then ten cents).

7 July -- I was in the waiting room of the new office [they had moved while I was gone] reading the Native People when a councillor walked in, sat down and struck up a conversation. It was quite amazing as I don't think he's said two words to me before. I showed him the article I was reading [Cardinal's re-election] and asked him what he thought of it. He said he felt Harold was too young for the job, that there were lots of middle-aged men with tremendous experience and skill, "they just can't talk as good". He said he and _____ _____ - close runner-up at the Association Meeting, used to do a lot of drinking together years ago so he knows him pretty well. He didn't really think he was the man either. He explained how "this reserve is ahead of most of the others in Alberta, everything they're trying for, roads, housing, good schools, we've got that. That's why this reserve isn't that interested in what goes on at the Association." He repeated what I heard him say in a meeting once, that he has been on council a year now, and it has taken him that long to learn his job. He was on council once before in 1957. The job was entirely different then. There was one meeting per month to attend and the pay was $30 per month. Now it's $500. . . . "That old Indian way, it never done nothing for me, got to adjust to the white man's ways."

-- A band member gave me quite an earful about how the people continaully come knocking at the door, wanting to borrow money. "Aw, there's lotsa money in this house". She explained how the horses they have been buying will be security for the girls, and about how she buys ahead with the use of the freezer. She certainly demonstrated qualities attributed by sociologists to the middle class (deferred gratification, future orientation, saving of money etc.).

-- One of the young mothers was quite talkative, asked if I was the new teacher who was teaching the kids Cree. She said her daughter had told her they were learning French at school, but one day she had pointed to a frog on the television [we had done one in art] and said to her mother, "My teacher says that's 'ayek's'". The mother told her, "Your teacher isn't

teaching you French!" The mother explained how she had grown up with Cree, and misses it here, as so few speak it. [If I meet any more outside loners I'll be tempted to try to get them together. There seems to be more outsiders than in-crowd. This might point to a bias in my "contacts" . . . it is the lonely ones who have time to talk, and who might empathize more with me, being also on the outside.]

-- I ended up at the ball diamonds with seven little girls and two forbidden boys who looked so interested and woebegone that I finally said to hell with the "rules" and asked one to play on each team. [I had been given explicit instructions that the boys were to be chased away as they have their own ball leagues and a hockey school coming up; they also tend to dominate the game and spoil the girls fun.] We didn't have much of a ball game, the smaller ones got bored very quickly, were tired, hot, thirsty, etc. -- the boys were most co-operative.

-- Later the recreation director said that it didn't matter if they didn't play ball; the object was to instil co-operation through supervised play.

13 July -- The Health Nurse got telling me about the family life course [sex education] she ran last summer, of how well received it was. She wants to do it again, and she wants to run a babysitting course for girls twelve and up; she could use my help. She is also going on holidays soon, and on education leave after that. But her successor is not a greenhorn and has been hired already, so possibly there won't be too much disruption in her work. She wants to involve _____ in the babysitting course by using her baby for demonstration purposes. "She's a darn good kid. She just needs some recognition. Many won't believe a good thing about her, that all she does is sniff glue. But she's helped me before and I know what she can do."

16 July -- If you theorize about the language difficulties and other cultural problems which the children encounter, do you ignore the fact that they do not think of themselves as Indians? About Indians they have old and negative stereotypes. They are just kids. But when they get to "Big School" they learn plenty fast. _____ after a few months in grade one, saw her kindergarten teacher one day: "You know what teacher, I'm an Indian. Those kids said."

17 July -- "And I don't agree with IAB and Secretary of State policy either, of handing out enormous sums of money, no strings attached, and then wondering when it is gone and can't be accounted for, or there is nothing of lasting value to show for it. They've just done this with the ____ Indian

Brotherhood, and do you know what they've done? They've gone out and hired five full time community development officers, all native, and not one of them seems to have a clue about what a special meeting when I wss there. They said they wanted to talk with me. So I went down to the office, and do you know what the director said? He's a fine fellow, native, and so bitter that his perspective is way off. He said to me, "What is community development?"

-- "All my life, when I walk up to one of those things and lay down a quarter, if I don't win that time, it's because I win the next!" One of the men running one of these outfits remembered her from Edmonton last year . . . "Aren't you in the wrong city lady?", then gave her four quarters for her dollar, laid a quarter from his change on a number for her, and she won.

17 July -- For a good fifteen minutes everyone was happy. And I think they can handle "Native American Child"; we tried a few words, the tune's catchy and easy and they like it. But these kids don't think of themselves as Indian; Indians they see on t.v. and have feathers and face paint. They don't like them much.

-- So we lasted for a good two hours. I'm discovering that the thing about making rules, no matter how simple, is that some of th kids will break the rules, some will tell on their playmates, then I'm supposed to do something about it. But yet it seems impossible to do anything awithout any rules . . . one of my problems could be that I say "if you don't want to play ball, play on the swings", etc.

19 July -- Didn't see a soul in the office over dinner, had a little quiet time with my notes which was most welcome. The "recreation" for me is almost an endurance test; I find encouraging the older ones to help is a definite improvement, but they don't tend to stick with one game for more than five minutes if, for instance, I have to play nurse and clean up a cut or whatever. _____ is infinitely patient and a big help, but is often called away to mind the baby. The rhythm band is extremely popular, but that presents problems too: there is only one drum and everybody wants it--right now. They were "taking turns" much better at the end of the session than at the beginning, so maybe I should be grateful for small mercies. The bigger boys are very good with the equipment, unload, distribute, gather up, etc., with only a suggestion from me.

-- "Sometimes on the weekends I just feel like locking my door and not answering it; the drinking in the village is so bad. I'm glad my little girl is away for the summer. My dad was policeman for awhile. Any my brother. The trouble wasn't half so bad then."

-- This band member is very like his dad in his easy, talkative manner with a stranger. He said I really should walk through the arena, it was definitely something to see. I should also go before 3:00 p.m. as that was how long they skated. He said the Hockey Association is paying maintenance and the band gets 10% of the proceeds from the booth. All the band boys get free hockey school. Several of the women are running the booth.

25 July -- "No way can I persuade these boys to consider forming a development corporation. They say it's too much responsibility, they can't handle it, yet they can turn around and put up the arena, the new band office, with problems sure but nothing that can't be ironed out. If they incorporate it makes a difference of from seven percent to seventeen percent interest [on loans taken out?]. They just can't seem to feature it."

-- A band member mentioned suggesting to the women's group that they should remember the "old lady's" birthday a few months early one year. She has since rallied, but at the time was very ill. On Easter Sunday they took her a cake and a figurine of the Virgin. "This is the greatest Easter present you will ever know girls, . . tears of joy on an old woman's face." [Implications when the oldest people are devout Catholic: there seems so few traces of "the old way". Is it an anthropologist's pipe dream?]

-- But one real problem in a reserve community is that if they lay charges, they drop them before they get to court. You just can't make a charge stick.

26 July -- "This band deserves a lot of credit . . . . They have a lot of problems, but in comparison with other bands they are doing very well. Take the ____ Band. A few years ago they sold some land and had a large sum of money at their disposal. They just went crazy, they were going to spend that money, and they weren't taking any advice from white men. There was no way you could hold them down. For instance, they were talking about building a covered arena. IAB said if they would put it near the school and let the kids use it, then IAB would give them a grant of $100,000 towards the building. But no way would they go for that. They went through it like wildfire, and had not a damn thing to show

for it. Again, ____ went out there and proposed that they build a garment factory there and employ the native people. The chief thought it was a good idea. I was at the meeting the day they came before Council. There was a chief and four [councillors] then. And in five minutes they tore the proposal to shreds. No way were lousy white men going to make money off of them. They would be making a profit I said, 'Of course they'll make a profit, how else do you think they would pay their employees and cover expenses, or even want to locate there?' Nope, no go. You see, they had a clause which stated that natives would be hired first, but if problems came up, if they couldn't run it with native labour, then they reserved the right to hire other labourers. The poor chief was in tears when that meeting broke up. It would have meant twenty permanent jobs in a community where unemployment is such a terrible problem, and leads to so much other trouble."

26 July -- We went picking raspberries for recreation . . . a very effective means of controlling the kids, enjoyably. We never had a single fight until we got back to the swings.

27 July -- At noon he was elated. "That was a damn good meeting, a lot came out of it. Finally they have decided to do something I've been harping about for months . . . hire a real estate agent. They've had me so built up beyond my capabilities--I know a little about a lot of things, but I don't know real estate!"

-- Re the pilgrimage to Lac Ste. Anne: "A lot come from all over. It's put on by the Oblate Fathers. That water is holy and some come just to bath in it. Some people sure are religious. A bus load went from here, and some cars. It celebrates the missionaries bringing Christianity to the west, and people come even from Saskatchewan. There's another, smaller one somewhere else, but fewer know about it. They have mass all day long there, over and over. And you can buy little crucifixes and tiny figurines of St. Anne there." [I noticed many of the children and two or three tiny babies with these crosses.]

-- As I was walking through Newtown back to the office, I noticed several children carrying flowers to a particular spot. "Teacher, _____'s doggie is dead. He's buried here." They had laid stones neatly around the grave, and propped up a cross. As I passed one shouted, "Don't unbury him, he'll be haunted!"

28 July -- There was a general discussion about cooking moose meat; someone had recently brought one in. We talked about preparing the meat, different ways of grinding some of it.

____ said she was really tired of it after all these years. ____ said if she puts a good roast of beef on the table, everybody asks her what happened to the moose. "With beef now, it seems as if there's something missing." It appears that moose is a staple for many here.

-- I asked him when the band lists had been drawn up. In 1951 they sent a man from Ottawa, and he went to each chief and council for a complete list of band members. "There was a lot of politics involved, whole families, full-blood, were struck off the list because someone on the council didn't like them at the time. Others are down there twice. And before that, right back to the 1880's, talk about your dumb Indians: every year at treaty day there was another baby in each family. And twins! You wouldn't believe how many families went through the tent and collected $5.00 for a twin which the next year had mysteriously died. Lots and lots of babies collected their $5.00 treaty money three and four and five times, just change the shawl on the baby, nothing to it. Sure are a lot of dumb Indians around!"

-- _____ up in the _____ Band was just telling me here in a few weeks back about how long some of that treaty money would last in those days. He said you could buy three months' staples [flour, lard, tea, sugar, jam] with $10.00 or $15.00. Supplement this with wild meat, fish and berries, you could feed a big family for next to nothing. But now he says, the young people don't want to learn how to take wild meat, they couldn't be bothered learning how to fish, they just want to sit around on their backsides and complain about the rough deal Indian Affairs is giving them."

-- "If you farm a quarter section for so long are are granted a certificate of possession, it's yours for life. They had lawyers working on a case down in Hobbema: that c.p. is pretty well air tight and irreversible." [I'm sure that Banta said that the Council had the right to revoke the certificate if the land was neglected or didn't meet certain requirements.]

1 August -- I sat in on the first session of the babysitting course. I had a very negative reaction to the films shown: they were extremely "middle class", they were twenty years old and American. All about the babysitters' check list for emergencies, about putting two little tow-heads off to bed and then checking that they were tucked in . . . these girls are looking after several younger brothers and sisters, or groups of several children, sometimes for extended periods of time.

8 August -- A band member launched into a lot of detail about various ceremonies held on the reserve in honour of the dead.

Those who have been around her great-grandfather's house have heard his spirit walking and talking and they know that he is not resting well. So the family has gotten together and [the oldest man on the reserve] made a lot of prayers, and they went through a ritual where they all ate from the same bowl of several different kinds of food, and when all had had some, the old man threw the rest into the fire. After this the deceased one was supposed to rest better. Also, on the anniversary of his death, they had a graveyard supper for him. This is a more common occurrence. The family involved supplies the food and coffee and tea;' there is no drinking. In Newtown all the residents go together and have one once a year, to honour all those who have died in the year past. Or in special situations, one family will put it on. I asked her if the old man was the one who knew what to say on such occasions. Yes. Are there any younger ones learning from him? No.

-- The Administrator was up-tight about the inefficiency of IAB staff: "Seven years ago when I transferred out of _____ to District Office there were seven employees. Today there are forty plus about eighty band employees, of which there were none in 1965. And Regional Office has eighty employees. To do what?" The bands are all the time taking over the running of their own affairs, they should need fewer employees, not more [IAB].

-- The constable also gave his view of the rodeo. . . "There would have been a lot more charges if I had an assistant . . . I simply couldn't see everything. There was a boot legger in there but I couldn't get close to him. _____ was all set to be my assistant this spring, I took him into Spruce Grove and got him finger printed and everything, then the council said they couldn't afford to pay him. It would sure make a difference around here."

10 August -- In the coffee room I caught _____ in a talkative mood. His dad died when he was quite young, and his mother remarried and moved to St. Albert, where he attended an Indian residential school. In 1947-48 when he was thirteen, he quit school [he didn't have enough textbooks, the principal didn't think much of Indian kids, etc.]. He lied about his age and got working in a bush camp for two years, then he lied again and got in a coal mine, where he worked for ten years. He has long been trying to get back to school through manpower, and got the classic runaround for eight years. "Call us in six months, you're too old, you should see Indian Affairs". Then he got in to see a new counsellor [the one I met and talked to] at IAB. Within two weeks he was back in school taking upgrading; he wants to

take up plumbing and stay right on the reserve. He said, "When we moved back here there was hardly anybody going to school. Then when I got in finally and word got around that I was being paid for it, other guys started to get interested. Manpower sponsored me for five months beyond the original agreement, and now they won't touch me with a ten foot pole. I don't know how I'll manage this winter. . . . But we're not giving up this time. I've had enough of being a labourer, so you put that down. Work with a pick and shovel, dont get anywhere, then the first time things get tight, you get laid off. And you start all over again. No more of that for me."

-- At noon _____ was full of the hockey school, of what it was doing for the boys, white and Indian, to be associated in this way. He had just been over talking with _____ _____ who was running it; he had asked him how the boys acted on the first day of hockey school, and if this behaviour undergoes any changes over the two week period. Apparently for the first day and decreasingly so for four or five, there are most definitely two races on the ice. But by the first game on Saturday the boys are intermingled and are equally enthusiastic when a white or an Indian scores or plays well. He was quite inspired: "I'm going to get the Edmonton Journal out here, somebody who will just watch and write it as he sees it. There's a big match on Saturday, so if someone can come out, it should make Monday's paper. When you've got something good going, let people know.

-- He sounded off vehemently about the practice on the part of many band councils of signing blank resolutions and giving them to IAB officials, so that if the latter should need to move fast on a particular issue, they would have the correct signatures by going to a file drawer. "Talk about playing right into the hands of Indian Affairs!"

17 August -- A councillor said: "I have no use for these Indians who go off on such wild and extreme tangents, blaming all the whitemen for everything that goes wrong. Calling down Indian Affairs all the time, even though they get free medicine, free education. I got no time for that. How would you like it if I kept throwing it in your face what some of your ancestors did to some of mine? That doesn't get us any place does it!"

-- I wandered through town and did my Pied Piper act, and we straggled up to Little School in blistering heat. We went back on the steps in the shade and coloured and played with the rhythm band.

-- The nurse spent time out at Duffield's Indian Days; took her baby clinic apparatus in the new car right over to the grounds since no one was coming to the clinic. Then she returned after supper: "This is a good idea nurse: most of the best dancers are waiting until then to dance; it's too hot and dusty now."

22 August -- I asked the nurse how prevalent or well known is the idea ot tubal ligations for females, and in answering she made a general statement: "Native people receive a higher concentration of health care per capita than the overall white population". [When she had moved to Edmonton with small children, no health nurse came to visit her; on the reserve this would not happen for long.] Again, if a couple of the women had tubal ligations it might seem like only a few, but if the percentage of the whole City were concerned, the former would represent a higher ratio.

-- A councillor is known as one to "hit" if cash, loans, jobs, are needed. He seemed so frustrated and so at a loss when he spoke to me, I was reminded of something [another] had said: "It's as if they've got something over on him, almost a type of blackmail."

-- This morning I was alone in the coffee room when [an old man] came in, asked if coffee was ready, and left. He took me for a Cree though, for he turned and delivered quite a tirade about there "should be Cree spoken in this Cree office here!" Then he disappeared. I went upstairs later and discovered that he was petitioning whoever would listen for money for his glasses. He was semi-drunk, and was quite dramatic and poetical, all about how the old people were being treated.

-- The council meeting remained in session until 5:30 that afternoon. A councillor's wife came in and sat down, she too was waiting for the meeting to end. She was telling me how many quarts of raspberries she had canned already, how she liked to go and pick them early in the cool of the morning and then when it's hot outside, just stay in and preserve them. They went to a lake last Sunday. "When I was a girl we used to swim all the time in the hot weather. I'm from up around Slave Lake. I just love the water, I hadn't been swimming in years. I sure hope we can go back again soon." When I asked her which band she was from up there, she said none, she was Metis. We talked on, about the kids, the weather, going back to school.

-- While I was picking up kids this morning, [a mother]

motioned me to wait . . . she had never said anything to me before. "I've been meaning to ask you about your hairs, are they real? You have such beautiful braids. They're so thick. Look at mine, I've been growing them for so long, and they're so thin and funny-looking." I mentioned how mine was dry and splitting. "Do you know an old Indian belief? Trim your hairs, about a quarter of an inch, just when it's the new moon. Look on the calendar and see when. They'll grow faster then."

24 August -- I asked to what degree National Health can promote birth control information, or for instance, in the case of a young mother of two at the age of nineteen, would a doctor, or Public Health, or anyone, see it as their responsibility to fill this gap [my values]?

-- "I think in most cases the doctors do say something. But as far as we're concerned, we like to work as closely as possible with the Indian Association, and it is their explicit policy to veto birth control. Therefore, we make sure that the information is available, keep it fairly commonly in the conversation, but we can't 'promote it' as such. I guess 'they' are after quantity, not quality."

-- A group was working on an old car. They were to play for a dance tomorrow night, and had to have it running by then. She asked me if _____ was back yet. I had to express my ignorance, I hadn't known she was gone. She smiled and said "She took off again . . . ".

25 August -- I picked up only a handful of kids [I'm not putting anything new into the situation with them, and it's a hot dusty walk for them]. So we went to the playground and I was sitting on the ground soaking up the sun and settling the odd disagreement when the recreation director drove by and stopped. He said, "That little bus will be free after tomorrow. We've been using it to bring the boys from Duffield. . . we've been providing their young boys transportation to the hockey school. You got a big crew there eh?" I explained that tomorrow would be my last day with the kids because they were going back to school next week, but that I would still be coming out for a while to get final information for my "little book". And he said, "I always say that I won't tell anyone what to do. Everyone is born with a head and a brain, and it's up to them to use it. I'll help you in any way I can, but I'm not going to lay anything down."

30 August -- A white farmer's wife near the reserve came and wanted to enroll her five-year-old in the kindergarten. She had permission at the office. She wondered now about finding out about the possibility of getting bus service, so we all went to the office to find out. We had few enough kids this day that they all fitted into the teacher's car. The implications of this one woman's actions are pretty far-reaching. IAB has been threatening to close the school down due to diminishing enrollment [the Pill marches on!], and if they could take little white children from the surrounding area into the kindergarten, problems on several levels could be ironed out.

8 September -- [the opening of the New Office]. Noteworthy: the proportion of visitors to local people attending the function . . . partly due to the office staff sending formal invitations to many outside officials and other individuals. Several of the women were dressed in formals; only half of the councillors were there. A large group of men in hard hats, probably from the various crews (farm operation, public works, carpentry) did not come into the office but listened to the speeches. It seemed hardly representative of the community.